TRYGGVE N.D. METTINGER

The Dethronement of Sabaoth

Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies

CB

CONIECTANEA BIBLICA
OLD TESTAMENT SERIES 18

CWK GLEERUP





CONIECTANEA BIBLICA • OLD TESTAMENT SERIES 18

TRYGGVE N.D. METTINGER

The Dethronement of Sabaoth

Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies

CWK GLEERUP
1982

Translated by FREDERICK H. CRYER



Key words:
Bible, Old Testament, God, God as king, Sabaoth designation, Divine presence, Temple, Tabernacle, Theophany, Exile, Zion tradition, Deuteronomistic tradition, Priestly tradition, Book of Exodus, Book of Ezekiel, Deuteronomistic Historical Work, *kābôd*, *šēm*, *šākan*.

CWK Gleerup is the imprint for the scientific and scholarly publications of LiberFörlag, Lund.

Published with grants from The Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Printed by Wallin & Dalholm, Lund. ISBN 91-40-04804-7

To Gillis Gerleman
on his seventieth birthday 27 – III – 1982

Preface

In December, 1979, I had the honour to be among the participants in the International Symposium for Biblical Studies, held in Tokyo under the chairmanship of Prince *Takahito Mikasa*, sponsored by Dr *Arthur M. Sackler* of the Medical Tribune International and splendidly organized by a group of Japanese scholars under the aegis of Professor *Masao Sekine*. This conference was probably the most vitalizing experience of my scholarly life to date. The present volume would hardly have seen the light of day if it had not been for this symposium. My lecture on Lord Sabaoth as the heavenly King on the cherubim throne of the temple is being published in the symposium volume edited by *Tomoo Ishida* and *Masao Sekine*. The present monograph starts where my lecture ends: with a couple of observations concerning some problematic blanks in the distribution of the Sabaoth designation. I cannot but thank my Japanese hosts, who gave me the incentive to work on a problem that has proved so fruitful in its further ramifications.

What gave me the immediate impetus to carry on my "Sabaoth" work was the invitation extended by my colleague Professor *Helmer Ringgren* to lecture on the occasion of the annual exegetical day held at Uppsala in September, 1980. My lecture at Uppsala on *Deus Praesens* proved to form the nucleus of the present book. I am particularly grateful for the discussion following my lecture, since this led me to define my views on temple and theophany (see Chap. I.4).

The research seminar at Lund has patiently endured my new hobby-horses, and some seminar sessions on this material – one of them under the chairmanship of Dr *Sten Hidal* – will long remain in my memory. I also record with gratitude private discussions with Dr *Jerker Blomqvist*, Mr *Krister Brandt*, Drs *Stig Norin*, *Samuel Nyström* and *Henry Plantin*.

Mrs *Karin Berglund* and *Ingrid Lilliehöök*, secretaries at the Department of Theology at the University of Lund, assisted me in typing my drafts. My assistant, Mr *Erik Aurelius*, subjected the final draft to close inspection and also assisted me in the task of proof-reading. Mr *Frederick H. Cryer*, M.A. (Oxon), of the University of Aarhus has translated the main text from my Swedish typescript and has also corrected my English in the footnotes. His reactions and criticisms have been a valuable stimulus to me during my work.

I also wish to thank the staff of Messrs. *Wallin & Dalholm* for having mastered the typographical problems involved in this work with such

success. The publication of my work was made possible by a substantial grant from *The Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences*.

Last but certainly not least, I owe a debt of gratitude to my wife *Solvi*. With good humour and much forbearance she stood by my side all the while Shem and Kabod were unseen but highly demanding guests in our home.

This book is dedicated to Professor *Gillis Gerleman*. From my years in his research seminar at Lund, his unstinting efforts to chart new courses by means of continuous study of the Hebrew concordance have left an indelible imprint on me. And so it is fitting that this book, based as it is on concordance work from beginning to end, is dedicated to my teacher and predecessor on the Old Testament chair at Lund.

Borgeby, at Advent, 1981
Tryggve N.D. Mettinger

Contents

Introduction

Among the many tasks of the OT exegete, none is more central than that of interpreting what the OT says about God. Achievement of a more adequate understanding of the OT conceptions of God will always remain one of the principal goals of OT research. The present study is an effort in this direction.

Israel expressed her confession to God in a shifting succession of formulations which arose in response to the changing demands of the conditions of her existence. New situations made it possible and necessary to see new aspects of God's countenance. When the Biblical scholar attempts to understand how the ancient Israelites perceived their God, that is, when he tries to discern their conception, or conceptions, of God – for these often coexisted alongside of one another in different milieux and sometimes displaced each other, even if a certain line of continuity was always present – in this his most important task the scholar is restricted to studying that which is historically tangible in the realm of the human senses. Even the scholar who is convinced, like the present writer, that the issue of God also involves other aspects than those which can be enclosed within the grid system of references in scholarly footnotes – even this scholar must accept the above-mentioned restrictions on his operations. Thus, a scholar who undertakes a phenomenological investigation of an ancient conception of God is confined to examining those phenomena which are observable on the Silver Screen of the Biblical texts; he must resign himself to the fact that he will never penetrate to the ultimate source of these images. His competence is restricted.

In dealing with historical tangibles, the Biblical scholar must never ignore the fact of the mutual interaction between these three quantities: historical situation, concept of God, and interpretation of reality. Recognition of this reciprocity does not entail capitulation to historical materialism.

I have attempted in an earlier work to study the historical dynamics of the political ideology of the Israelite monarchy.[1] In the present work I shall try to deal with a central theological problem, and also to do justice to the dynamics of a changing historical situation.

[1] *Mettinger* (1976). My methodological aims in this study were particularly well grasped by *P. Beauchamp* in his review (RSR 67/1979, 276-280).

The divine titles used by the Israelites demand close attention in any attempt to fathom the ancient Israelite conceptions of God. The designation *YHWH ṣĕbā'ôt* appears to have been the central and typical divine title employed in the Temple theology of the Jerusalem cult tradition during the monarchy.[2] The distribution of the Sabaoth designation in the texts has led to those questions which form the point of departure for the following study. The occurrences of this designation are distributed in the following manner:[3]

Book	% of the Hebrew OT[3a]	Total occurrences of Sabaoth designation	Whereof in free usage[4]
1-2 Sam	8.08	11	9
1-2 Kgs	8.45	4[5]	4
Isa I (Ch. 1-39)	3.29	56	46
Isa II (Ch. 40-55)	1.44	6	–
Jer	7.26	82[6]	12
Hos	0.79	1	–
Amos	0.68	9	3
Mic	0.46	1	1
Nah	0.19	2	–
Hab	0.22	1	1
Zeph	0.26	2	1
Hag	0.20	14	1
Zech	1.04	53	23
Mal	0.29	24	3
Ps	6.50	15	15
1-2 Chr	8.00	3	2
		284	121

[2] *Mettinger* (YHWH Sabaoth – The Heavenly King on the Cherubim Throne, to appear in the volume containing the papers read at the Tokyo symposium).

[3] For further details see *Baumgärtel* (FsRudolph 1961: 1-29, esp. pp. 1-3, 6) and *J.G. Janzen* (1973: 162-172). Note also *Löhr* (1901: 38-67). My study has also benefitted from the surveys of *B. Wiklander* (Material för diskussionen om tolkningen av *JHWH ṣĕbā'ôt;* unpublished material brought together for the Swedish Bible Commission, Uppsala).

[3a] See *H.Th. Willers* in THAT (2/1976, 539f.).

[4] Under the heading "free usage" I count occurrences where the Sabaoth designation is not part of a formula, such as *kōh 'āmar* DN, *nĕ'um* DN. Unlike Baumgärtel, I count occurrences in addresses to God under "free usage".

[5] Against my previous Sabaoth study, I now count only four occurrences in 1-2 Kgs, since I am now convinced that the Ketib in 2 Kgs 19:31 (without the Sabaoth designation) is correct (see below Chap. II.A.2).

[6] In Jeremiah the Sabaoth designation occurs 82 times in the MT but only 10 times in the LXX. *J.G. Janzen* (1973: 75-80, 162-172) has shown it to be highly probable that the shorter text of the LXX is more original. According to Janzen (p. 80) only 10 occurrences of the Sabaoth designation in Jeremiah are textually sound. See also *E. Tov* (RB 79/1972, 189-199) and cf. below (Chap. II.C.2).

The preceding table gives rise to several thought-provoking observations. To begin with, it is clear that the connexion between the Sabaoth title and the Temple theology and Zion tradition[7] explains the large numbers of occurrences in certain blocks of texts. It is thus hardly surprising that the occurrences in the Psalter[8] are primarily found among the Zion and royal psalms. The high frequency in Isaiah, Haggai, and Zechariah is also understandable in view of the affinity of these prophets to the Jerusalem tradition.

Two anomalies in the table of distribution are highly surprising. In the first place, the title is resoundingly absent from the Book of Ezekiel. This becomes even more significant if we compare with Ezekiel's elder contemporary, the prophet Jeremiah. Even if text-critical considerations should oblige us to lower the number of occurrences in Jeremiah (82 times in MT),[9] Ezekiel presents us with an astonishing contrast. On the level of language, Ezekiel reveals a vacuum which seems to have been filled by the title *ʾădōnāy YHWH*.[10] For what reason did Ezekiel do away with the Sabaoth designation? Is the lack of this title in Ezekiel connected with the fact that it also fails to occur in the P-materials of the Pentateuch?[11]

As a second consideration, it is apparent, for reasons I have made plain in my study of the Sabaoth designation, that this title played an important role during the Davidic-Solomonic era.[12] In later times, we find it frequently employed by the prophet Isaiah (56 times).[13] Now, if it was the case that the Sabaoth designation was a central feature of Temple theology during the monarchy, it is highly surprising that it is a rarity in the literature which depicts the history of the monarchy. The occurrences in Samuel and Kings (11 times and 4 times, respectively) are strikingly few; moreover, they are mainly present in such old materials as the Ark traditions and the History of David's Rise to Power.[14]

There has been no lack of attempts to explain the anomalies in the

[7] See *Mettinger* (n. 2 above).

[8] Ps 24:10; 46:8,12; 48:9; 59:6; 69:7; 80:5,8,15,20; 84:2,4,9,13; 89:9.

[9] See above n. 6.

[10] This designation occurs 217 times in Ezekiel, see *Baumgärtel* (1961: 2) and *Janzen* (1973: 164).

[11] The Sabaoth designation is *never* found in the Pentateuch.

[12] See *Mettinger* (n. 2 above).

[13] *Baumgärtel* (1961: 9) counts 26 occurrences in genuine material, while *Wildberger* (1979: 225) counts 27.

[14] In the Samuel traditions: I Sam 1:3,11. In the Ark narrative: I Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2,18. In the History of David's Rise to Power: I Sam 15:2; 17:45; 2 Sam 5:10; 7:8,27. *The other occurrences in Samuel – Kings are*: 2 Sam 7:26; I Kgs 18:15; 19:10,14; 2 Kgs 3:14. See *Mettinger* (Sabaoth n. 111).

distribution of the Sabaoth title. Prominent among these is W. Kessler's study of the occurrence of the term in the OT literature.[15] Kessler's point of departure is Maag's theory, according to which the Sabaoth designation grew out of the confrontation between the Yahwistic cult and Canaanite religion. Maag holds that the element *ṣĕbā'ôt* refers to the vitiated mythical natural powers of Canaan which were subordinated to the Lord. Thus the Sabaoth epithet contains reminiscences of the numinous forces which were integrated into the Yahwistic faith.[16] By the same token, the title implicitly contains a potentially offensive aspect, which explains why in the course of time it was found necessary to reduce its usage. Kessler feels that there were circles during the reign of Manasseh who regarded this title as an excuse for syncretism, since the God of Israel was in any case Lord of all other powers and divinities. The designation thus became suspect in the eyes of those who asserted the validity of the First Commandment. This, Kessler believes, explains the absence of the Sabaoth title from Deuteronomy,[17] as well as its scarcity in Deutero-Isaiah and its complete absence in Trito-Isaiah.[18]

Kessler further explains the absence of the title in Ezekiel on the basis of the importance to the prophet of the formula "and you shall know that I am the Lord" (Ezek 6:7, etc.). This formula signifies to Ezekiel the immediacy of the relationship between God and man; indeed, to Ezekiel it would be unthinkable to use a divine title which implied any distance between God and Israel, or which interposed any intermediary Powers ("Zwischenmächte") between God and his people. Thus, according to Kessler, Ezekiel is unable to make use of the Sabaoth title.[19]

Baumgärtel is another scholar who has attempted to deal with the problem of the distribution of the Sabaoth designation, and who above all tries to explain the abrupt discontinuity represented by Ezekiel. He observes that Ezekiel speaks of a God who dwells on Zion and thus is firmly rooted in the Jerusalem tradition; however, after 587 it was no longer possible to describe this God as "the Lord of hosts, who is enthroned on the cherubim", since he no longer throned above the Ark in the Zion Temple.[20]

Both of these views seem to contain a grain of truth. Kessler's linka-

[15] *W. Kessler* (FsEissfeldt, 1959: 79-83). L. Köhler was one of the first to note the peculiarities of the distribution of the Sabaoth designation, see *Köhler* (1936: 31-33).

[16] See *Maag* (STU 20/1950, 27-52, esp. p. 50; reprinted in Maag 1980: 1-28, esp. p. 26). For a survey of various methodological approaches to the Sabaoth designation see *Mettinger* (Sabaoth, the introduction).

[17] *W. Kessler* (1959: 81).

[18] *W. Kessler* (1959: 82).

[19] *W. Kessler* (1959: 81f).

[20] *Baumgärtel* (1961: 1-29, esp. pp. 27-29).

ge of the potential association of the Sabaoth designation with forbidden Powers is alluring. As additional support for his argument, he could further have mentioned that the noun *ṣābā'* figures in late texts as a designation for "all the host of heaven", which Israel was explicitly forbidden to worship.[21] Baumgärtel's suggestion that the exilic situation could have exercised a negative influence on the use of the Sabaoth title is likewise attractive. His reference to the Zion theology and to the existence of the Temple as the presupposition of this theology underlines an important aspect of the problem.

It is, however, possible to go beyond these insights. The Sabaoth title was the pre-eminent term employed in the Jerusalem tradition for the God who dwelt in the Temple, and was indeed the key-word in the classical Jerusalemite theology of the Presence.[22] Further, the difficulties in accounting for the distribution of the designation become significantly easier to deal with when first one recognizes that it is not only strikingly absent from Ezekiel, but rare in the Deuteronomistic Historical Work (hereafter the D-Work) as well.

One additional observation is of crucial importance: the two literary complexes of the exilic period in which the Sabaoth title either is missing altogether or plays only a marginal role also employ two distinct terms when they describe God's relation to his sanctuary. (a) In the D-Work the term is *šēm*, God's "Name", and (b) in Ezekiel it is *kābôd*, the "Glory" of God, a term, which also plays an important part in the Priestly traditions of the Pentateuch, which, as we have seen, also avoid the Sabaoth designation. As far as I am aware, the mutual exclusivity of Sabaoth on the one hand and of *šēm* and *kābôd*, respectively, on the other, as expressions for the presence of God in the sanctuary has not been the subject of previous investigation.[23]

Whether or not it is permissible to speak of a "Name" theology or of a "Glory" *(kābôd)* theology, we must in any case describe the mainstream of the Jerusalem cultic tradition as a "Zion-Sabaoth theology", whose main theme was the notion of the God enthroned in the Temple. In addition to this, the pre-monarchical ideas about the coming God were nurtured in the Jerusalem Temple; thus in confronting the Temple theology we have not only to deal with (a) *the Zion tradition with its "Sabaoth theology"*, but also with (b) *the theophanic tradition*.

The views presented above adumbrate a captivating theological tri-

[21] See Deut 4:19; 17:3; 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3,5; 23:4-5; Jer 8:2; 19:13; Zeph 1:5; 2 Chr 33:3,5. On this cult see *Weinfeld* (UF 4/1972, 133-154).

[22] See *Mettinger* (Sabaoth).

[23] I briefly referred to this unduly overlooked phenomenon in a recent study see *Mettinger* (Sabaoth, at the end).

angle-drama between *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt*, *šēm*, and *kābôd* as three distinct terms connected with the cultic presence of God in the sanctuary. We thus arrive at the designated goal of this study: to analyze against the background of the "Sabaoth theology" of the Zion tradition the later Name and Glory theologies.[24] The most important questions arising in this connexion are as follows:

(1) Which conceptions of the presence of God in the sanctuary are attached to *šēm* and *kābôd*, respectively? Moreover, is it proper to use such descriptions as "immanence" and "transcendence" of them?

(2) What are the relationships obtaining between the Name and Glory theologies and the more ancient Zion-Sabaoth theology? Can they be characterized as representing change or continuity?

(3) Where are we to seek the traditio-historical roots of the language reflected in the use of *kābôd* by Ezekiel and the P-traditions, and in the Deuteronomists' use of *šēm*? Further, what semantic connotations of these two words were established through their usage prior to the composition of these late literary complexes?

(4) Irrespective of the question of exact dates, which here as elsewhere are difficult or impossible to assign, it is patent that the Priestly and Deuteronomistic theologies were largely products of the exilic period.[25] This fact suggests a fourth goal for our study. As we shall see, the idea of God's presence in the Temple is central to the Zion-Sabaoth theology. In the course of the tumultuous events of the sixth century, both Jerusalem and the Temple perished. The city of the divine presence was laid in ruins. Without burdening our discussion with the weighty theoretical apparatus of socio-psychological theory, I should like to propose L. Festinger's term "cognitive dissonance"[26] as a useful label in this connexion. By "dissonance" I understand the tension caused by a discrepancy between belief and reality. In the example in question we have to do with the dissonance arising between the tenets of the Zion-Sabaoth theology (divine presence and divine protection) on the one hand, and historical experience (the disaster of the Exile) on the other.

[24] For previous discussions of the ideas of divine presence in ancient Israel see above all *Westphal* (1908), *G. von Rad* (Ges Stud 2/1973, 127-132; first published in 1947), *M. Schmidt* (1948), *Clements* (1965), *Levine* (FsGoodenough, 1968: 71-87), *Weinfeld* (EncJud 13/1971, 1015-1020, *idem* 1972: 191-209), and *Brueggemann* (IDBSup 680-683).

[25] On the date of the D-work and of the P-materials see below Ch. II–III. On the last days of Judah and the exile see *Ackroyd* (1968) and *B. Oded* (in Hayes – Miller 1977: 469-488) with ample references to further literature. The chronology followed in the present study is that of *Malamat* (VTSup 28/1975, 123-145).

[26] See *L. Festinger* (1957). For good presentations of the theory and for discussions of its exegetical implications see *R.P. Carrol* (1979; *idem*, ZAW 92/1980, 108-119) and *C.S. Rodd* (JSOT 19/1981, 95-106).

People caught in the throes of such dissonance tend to seek recourse either to techniques of explanation or to techniques of avoidance. The latter possibility was in this case entirely ruled out, since the fact of the catastrophe of the Exile could scarcely be denied; moreover, the claims of the Zion-Sabaoth theology could only with great difficulty be ignored. However, the possibility did exist of "explaining", that is, of re-interpreting and rationalizing the dogma of divine presence. Thus R.P. Carrol's assertion that "dissonance gives rise to hermeneutic"[27] is most apropos. On the basis of these considerations, we shall attempt in our investigation to answer the question (no 4): To what extent do the "Name" and "Glory" theologies appear to have evolved out of cognitive dissonance between the Zion-Sabaoth theology and the external events which demolished Jerusalem and its Temple with such crushing force?[28] – These are our four basic questions.

The programme of this investigation will be as follows: in the first chapter (I) we shall sketch out the basic outlines of the ancient Zion-Sabaoth theology of the Temple; this is essential to an understanding of the concepts of the Presence implicit in the "Name" and "Glory" theologies. The chapter may therefore be characterized as a background briefing which is necessary for comprehending the specific nature and mutual differences separating both of the later theologies. The two central chapters aim at a discussion of the Deuteronomistic Name theology (II) and the Glory theology of the Priestly stream of tradition (III). We shall attempt in each of these chapters to answer questions 1, 2, and 4 posed above. In so doing, we shall emphasize the ways the conceptions of the Presence are expressed both on the iconographic plane and on the level of language. The third question will be dealt with in the concluding chapter (IV) which accordingly seeks to answer the semantic and traditio-historical questions arising from the choice of *šēm* and *kābôd* as key theological expressions.

[27] *Carrol* (1979: 124-128 and *idem* ZAW 92/1980, 112).

[28] Compare the book of Lamentations, which tries to demonstrate that the catastrophe was a divine punishment for sin; thus the Exile did not imply that the Lord was devoid of power. See *Kapelrud* (SEÅ 41-42/1976-77, 138-146).



CHAPTER 1

The Enthroned God - The Zion-Sabaoth Theology of the Jerusalem Cult Tradition

1. The Iconography: The Cherubim and the Ark

In the following attempt to account for that Zion-Sabaoth theology which forms the background of the Biblical Name and Glory theologies, and which preceded these, the goal of our study will determine our selection of data.

We shall here be concerned with those materials which illuminate the concepts of the Divine Presence in the late Deuteronomistic and Priestly traditions. Accordingly, we turn first of all to the cult symbols of the Solomonic Temple[1] and inquire as to what these cultic objects can tell us about the concepts of the Divine Presence which were perpetrated in the Jerusalem tradition.[2]

A prime candidate for the role of pre-eminent cult symbol is the Ark,[3] which, with its deep roots in Israel's early history, no doubt possessed a numinous aura which enabled it to express the religious basis of the personal union established by David. The Ark was not, however, the sole cult object in the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple.[4] During the

[1] I am well aware that the notion of representation, of *Uneigentlichkeit*, is important in the established definitions of "symbol": see the discussion by *Biezais* (1979). In the present study, however, I use the term "symbol" in a broad sense as a comprehensive term for the Ark and the cherubim. My use of this term in a specific case does not necessarily imply that the item in question stands for something else.

[2] The main elements of the Jerusalemite cultic tradition are surveyed briefly by *Steck* (1972: 13-25) and *Roberts* (IDBSup 985-987 and in his lecture in Tokyo, forthcoming). For the literature on the subject see these studies.

[3] On the Ark see *Zobel* (TWAT I/1973, 391-404) and *R. Schmitt* (1972).

[4] On the temple see *Kuschke* (BRL² 333-342 with lit.) and *Ottosson* (1980). – I understand the *dᵉbîr* to have been a wooden box, measuring 20 × 20 × 20 cubits (1 Kgs 6:19-20), situated behind a wooden screen that separated the innermost part of the temple from the *hêkāl*. If we are correct in reading *qôrôt*, "beams", with the LXX for *qîrôt*, "walls", of the MT in 1 Kgs 6:16, this wooden screen went from the floor to the ceiling. A door made it possible to pass through the screen into the *dᵉbîr* (1 Kgs 6:31-32; 7:50). On the *dᵉbîr* see particularly *Schult* (ZDPV 80/1964, 46-54) and *Ouellette* (JBL 89/1970, 338-343).

Various suggestions have been made to account for the difference in height between the *dᵉbîr* (20 cubits, 1 Kgs 6:20) and the *hêkāl* (30 cubits, 1 Kgs 6:2). (a) Some scholars hold that the *dᵉbîr* was heightened and rested on a podium, thus *Galling* (JPOS 12/1932, 43-46). Others have combined this suggestion with the idea that the *dᵉbîr* was built over the Holy Rock and called attention to the rabbinical tradition that the rock broke through into the Holy of Holies, forming the *šetiyyâ* above which stood the Ark (*m. Yoma* 5:2), see for instance *de Vaux* (1965: 318-319). See also *H. Schmidt* (1933) and *H. Schmid* (1970: 241-250, esp. p. 247).

consecration of the Temple, the Ark was borne in and placed, as we are told, "underneath the wings of the cherubim" (1 Kgs 8:6). The Ark and the cherubim thus comprise a unity of sorts in the *děbîr* of the Temple.

It will be necessary for our purposes as briefly as possible to depict the interior plan of the Temple. First, its very scale is worthy of attention, since the cherubim, for example, which are described in 1 Kgs 6:23-28, were ten cubits high. Their height thus almost corresponds to the five-metre ledge on an Olympic diving-board! Compared with this, the dimensions of the Ark were scarcely imposing: 1 ½ cubits, or not quite 70 cm high (Exod 25:10).[5]

How were the cherubim positioned? In answering this question we must beware taking the description of the Priestly Tabernacle in Exodus as an exact description of Solomon's Temple. The Priestly Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple are different quantities. For example, in the description of the Tabernacle the cherubim face one another (Exod 25:20; 37:9) and seem to protect either the Ark or its cover: their wings overshadow the mercy seat (*sōkěkîm běkanpêhem ʿal-hakkappōret*), towards which their faces are directed (Exod 25:20).

It is otherwise with the cherubim in Solomon's Temple; they do not face each other, but rather are parallel to each other at their site in the adyton *(děbîr)*, and face towards the cella (2 Chr 3:13),[6] the largest chamber in the Temple.

The account of the consecration of the Temple says that the cherubim "made a covering" *(sākak)* above the Ark (1 Kgs 8:7), and the description of the ceremony in 1 Kgs 8:1-13 contains a number of formulas reminiscent of the theology and language characteristic of Priestly tradition.[7] It is therefore reasonable to understand v 7 in this light, and to regard it as a reflex of later P-conceptions.[8]

Should we attempt to penetrate behind these conceptions and inquire as to the actual function of the cherubim in Solomon's Temple, referen-

(b) Others are of the opinion that the whole floor of the temple was on the same level (cf. 1 Kgs 6:15b) and that the height of the ceiling progressively decreased as one went from the *ʾûlām* through the *hêkāl* into the *děbîr*, see *Ouellette* (JBL 89/1970, 338-343, esp. p. 342). Note that 2 Chr 3:9 pressupposes the existence of chambers above the *děbîr* (cf. *m. Mid.* 4:5). Note also *m. Mid.* 4:7 at the end.

The idea that the *děbîr* was situated above the Holy Rock has been refuted by for instance *Busink* (1970: 1-20), *Vogt* (Bib 55/1974, 23-64) and *Keel* (1978: 118f.).

[5] Since the dimensions of the priestly tabernacle are normally (but not invariably) half of the Solomonic temple, one cannot preclude the possibility that the Ark of the temple was actually 3 cubits high.

[6] For the terminology *adyton* and *cella* see *Fritz* (1977: 11f.). That the wings of the cherubim are spread out across the longitudinal axis of the temple can be seen from 1 Kgs 6:27.

[7] Note *kol ʿădat yiśrāʾēl* (v 5), *qōdeš haqqodāšîm* (v 6), *haqqōdeš* (v 8) and the notion of the Glory of the Lord filling the house in vv 10f. (cf. Exod 40:34f.).

[8] *Würthwein* (1977: 87).

ce to oriental graphic art will be useful. Here we encounter winged sphinxes enjoying two disparate functions: as watchmen guarding the Tree of Life (cf. Gen 3:24; Ezek 41:17-20), and as bearers of a throneseat.[9] On the sarcophagus of Ahiram of Byblos we find a relief representing a god or king seated upon a cherubim throne (Fig. 1).[10] A 26 cm-long ivory plaque was found during excavation of a Late Bronze Age stratum in Megiddo; it, too, depicts a prince on his cherubim throne (Fig. 2).[11] The same site has also yielded an ivory model of a cherubim throne a few centimetres in size (Fig. 3).[12] In these representations the throneseat itself is supported by the two cherubim. Their outer wings are clearly visible, pointing outwards and upwards. Their inner wings



Fig. 1. God or king seated upon a cherubim throne. Relief on the stone sarcophagus of Ahiram of Byblos. Length of section, 33 cm. Byblos. Late second millennium B.C. Beirut, National Museum.

[9] See *Mettinger* (Sabaoth, with lit.).

[10] See the publication by *Montet* (1928: 215-238 and 1929: pl. CXXVIII – CXLI). Note most recently *Giveon* (1978: 31-33).

[11] See the publication by *Loud* (1939: pl. 4, 2a and 2b).

[12] *Loud* (1939: pl. 4,3).



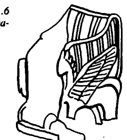
Fig. 2. A prince on his cherubim throne. Ivory plaque from Megiddo. 1350–1150 B.C. Length of section, c. 13 cm. Jerusalem, Palestine Archaeological Museum, 38 780.

would seem to meet horizontally beneath the throneseat. These finds may be used to illuminate the passage in 1 Kgs 6:23-28, in which Solomon places both cherubim in the *dĕbîr* of the Temple:

> He put the cherubim in the innermost part of the house; and the wings of the cherubim were spread out so that a wing of the one touched the one wall, and a wing of the other cherub touched the other wall; their other wings touched [*nāgaʿ*] each other in the middle of the house. (1 Kgs 6:27)

The outer wings of the cherubim brush the side walls of the Temple. We should take seriously the Chronicler's datum (2 Chr 3:13) that the faces of the cherubim point towards the main part of the Temple, its cella or *hêkāl*. Indeed, according to the Chronicler their inner wings seem to have been permanently joined to each other (*dābaq*, 2 Chr 3:12; cf. *debeq*, "soldering"). It is accordingly difficult to avoid the conclusion that these inner wings, like those of the reliefs mentioned above, must

Fig. 3. Ivory model of a cherubim throne, h. 2.6 cm, w. 1.7 cm. Megiddo, 1350–1150 B.C. Chicago, Oriental Institute.



have met horizontally (cf. *yĕšārôt*, Ezek 1:23) and themselves formed the throneseat.[13]

The Ark, too, must have had its designated function within this context, although it will admittedly originally have served independently of the cherubim throne as the boxshaped pedestal of the invisibly present God.[14] However, the Ark served as the footstool of the cherubim throne both at Shiloh and in Solomon's Temple;[15] thus we are told that David intended to build "a house of rest for the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and for the footstool of our God" (1 Chron 28:2). The expression does not describe two different objects, but one and the same, since the *wāw* connecting both phrases is an example of the *wāw explicativum:* the Ark is identical with the footstool. Similarly, *hădōm*, "footstool", seems in Pss 99:5 and 132:7 to refer to the Ark.

The fact that the function of cherubim and Ark has not infrequently been misinterpreted[16] should not be allowed to obscure the fact that they embody a conception which must have been central to Israel's religious life during the period of the monarchy: in the *dĕbîr*, the innermost chamber of the Temple, God was invisibly enthroned as king. His throneseat was composed of the conjoined inner wings of the cherubim, which met on the horizontal plane, and the Ark served as his footstool.

This cultic symbolism, which was realized in the national temple, was the correlative of the divine epithet *yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm*, "he who is

[13] On the cherubim as forming a throne, see the literature mentioned in *Mettinger* (Sabaoth notes 23 and 27). Especially the contributions made by *Haran* (IEJ 9/1959, 30-38; 89-94 and 1978: 246-259) are worthy of attention.

[14] See *de Vaux* (1967: 254-259; 272-276).

[15] See *de Vaux* (1967: 254-259; 272-276) and *Mettinger* (Sabaoth). On footstools in the ancient Near East see *Fabry* (TWAT 2/1977, 347-357). In his significant contribution to the study of the Ark and the cherubim, *J. Maier* understands the latter as bearing the Godhead (1964: 64-73) but refuses to interpret the Ark as the footstool of this throne (pp. 78-85). Cf. also *R. Schmitt* (1972: 131). I do not find the arguments concerning the Ark convincing. The fact that the Ark was placed parallel with the cherubim (1 Kgs 8:6-8) and not across the longitudinal axis of the temple, is, I think, due to the fact that the Ark had an earlier history of its own and was not manufactured *ad hoc* for the purpose of serving as the footstool of the cherubim throne. It was only at Shiloh and later in Jerusalem that the Ark was combined with the cherubim to form part of a throne-like contrivance.

[16] *Noth* (1968: 179) was on the right track but could allow himself to say that the Ark was to be understood as the footstool "vor dem nicht dargestellten, nur als unsichtbar vorhanden gedachten Thron ... ." Another case is found in Zimmerli's Theology. Commenting on the expression "he who is throned on the cherubim", *Zimmerli* (1978: 76) says that "this phrase refers to the cherubim as figures who bear Yahweh up, not the cherubim in the Jerusalem Temple who spread their wings protectively over the ark (1 Kings 8:7)." *Fritz* (1977: 22f.) concludes that the cherubim were of human form and that they did not have the function of "Thronträger", a conclusion that I find incompatible with the iconographic material that is now available. *Terrien* (1978: 166, 192, 209) mentions the cherubim, but does not seem to be aware of their import.

enthroned upon the cherubim"[17]. The designation *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt* was connected with this symbol complex, since the original and complete title will have been *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm*.[18] In short, the Sabaoth designation will at one time have been intimately linked with the Jerusalemite Temple theology.[19]

2. The View of God in the Zion-Sabaoth Theology: The King Enthroned in the Temple

Two aspects of the understanding of God promulgated by the Zion-Sabaoth theology are especially interesting for our purposes. First, God is depicted as king,[20] a notion emphasized by the title *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt*.[21] The connexion between this title and the cherubim throne (see above) is evidence of this conception; moreover, well known texts speak with ample clarity:

> Lift up your heads, O gates!
> and be lifted up, O ancient doors!
> that the King of glory may come in.
> Who is the King of glory?
> The Lord of hosts,
> he is the King of glory. (Ps 24:9-10)

> Woe is me! For I am lost; for I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; for my eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts!
> (Isa 6:5)

Second, the God of the Sabaoth theology is the God who is present in the Temple.[22] This characteristic is of fundamental importance and is so well recognized that it will be sufficient merely to quote a few typical examples:

[17] This divine epithet occurs in 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2 // 1 Chr 13:6; 2 Kgs 19:15 // Isa 37:16; Ps 80:2; 99:1.

[18] 1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; Isa 37:16. Note that the Sabaoth designation occurs several times in Ps 80 (vv 5, 8, 15, 20), in which we find *yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm* as well (v 2). Cf. *Mettinger* (Sabaoth).

[19] For details see *Mettinger* (Sabaoth).

[20] The kingship of God on Zion is attested by the following occurrences of *mālak/melek* referring to YHWH in a context coloured by the theology of Zion: Exod 15:18; Isa 24:23; 33:22; 52:7; Jer 8:19; Mic 4:7; Zeph 3:15; Zech 14:9,16,17; Ps 10:16; 48:3; 68:25; 74:12; 84:4; 93:1; 95:3; 96:10; 97:1; 99:1; 99:4; 146:10; 149:2. Of the passages where we find YHWH sitting on a throne, the following display a connection with the theology of Zion: Isa 6:1; 66:1; Jer 3:17; 17:12; Ezek 1:26; Ps 9:5.8; 47:9; 89:15; 93:2; 103:19. To these can be added some of the above-mentioned occurrences of *yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm*. – For literature on God as king see *Soggin* (THAT 1/1971, 914f.). Note also the recent contributions by *J. Gray* (SEÅ 39/1974, 5-37, and his monograph of 1979).

[21] See *Mettinger* (Sabaoth).

[22] See *Westphal* (1908: 118–214), *Schreiner* (1963), *Clements* (1965: 40-78) and *Wanke* (1966: 33-39; 100-106).

> There is a river whose streams gladden the city of God,
> which the Most High has made his holy dwelling;[23]
> God is in that city; she will not be overthrown,
> and he will help her at the break of day ...
> The Lord of hosts is with us,
> the God of Jacob our high stronghold. (Ps 46:5-8)[24]

> His abode [*sukkô*] has been established in Salem,
> his dwelling place [*mĕʿônātô*] in Zion. (Ps 76:3)

The texts are even able to speak of the theophany emanating from Zion:

> Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God shines forth. (Ps 50:2)

The Temple is the royal palace of God, and Jerusalem is his capital, which is accordingly designated *qiryat melek rab*, "the city of the great king" (Ps 48:3; cf. v 9). This idea helps to illuminate passages such as the following, from Jeremiah:

> כסא כבוד מרום מראשון מקום מקדשנו

> A glorious throne set on high from the beginning
> is the place of our sanctuary. (Jer 17:12)

> Is the Lord not in Zion? Is her King not in her?
> (Jer 8:19; cf. Mic 4:7)

The notion of the royal presence of God on the cherubim throne in the Jerusalem Temple also underlies the suggestions of prayer in the presence of the Ark and the cherubim which are to be found in the Psalter.[25] Moreover, it also casts light on Hezekiah's reaction to the Assyrian ultimatum. The ultimate author of this threat was the Assyrian great king (Isa 36:4,13). Hezekiah took the letter and entered the Temple, where he spread it out "before the Lord" (Isa 37:14). No great feat of imagination is required to realize that this took place before the cherubim throne with its footstool in the *dĕbîr*; thus his entreaty to God begins "O Lord of hosts, God of Israel, who art enthroned above the cherubim" 37:16). We should note in passing that the Sabaoth designation is not present in the Deuteronomistic parallel passage (2 Kgs 19:15).

The concept of God in the Zion-Sabaoth theology is simultaneously both aniconic (i.e. without icon) and anthropomorphic: No divine image reposes on the cherubim throne, but the impression of an empty throne is only superficial, since God reigns there invisibly like a king in his

[23] Reading with the LXX.
[24] Translation after NEB.
[25] *H. Schmidt* (1923: 129ff.) found such indications in 2 Kgs 19:14ff.; Jer 17:12-18; Ps 80; Ps 99:5.9; 132:7.

palace. An aniconic cult symbolism is thus conjoined to a massive theology of the Presence![25a]

The most significant term expressing this concept of the divine presence is the verb *yāšab*, "to sit, dwell."[26] In these contexts the verb assumes the meaning "to sit enthroned". An occurrence illustrating this usage is found in Solomon's prayer of consecration *(Tempelweihspruch)*:

בנה בניתי בית זבל לך מכון לשבתך עולמים

I have built a royal house for thee,
an established place for thy throne for ever.
(1 Kgs 8:13)[27]

The object of this expression is God's palace, his *bêt zĕbūl*.[28] an understanding of the Temple which presumably also underlies the use of *hêkāl* for the Temple.[29]

In the quotation cited above the complete expression is *mākôn lĕšibtĕkā*. The repeatedly occurring expression *mĕkôn kissēʾ*, "the foundation of the throne" (Pss 89:15; 97:2) indicates that *mākôn lĕšibtĕkā* in Solomon's speech should be rendered something like "the place of your enthronement", "the dais of your throne".[30] We should note that the same terminology occurs in the Song of the Sea:

תבאמו ותטעמו בהר נחלתך
מכון לשבתך פעלת יהוה
מקדש אדני כוננו ידיך .

25a Cf. *Mettinger* (1979: 15-29).

26 The verb *yāšab* is used with God as its subject in the following instances: Exod 15:17; 2 Sam 7:5,6 // 1 Chr 17:4,5; 1 Kgs 8:13 // 2 Chr 6:2; 1 Kgs 8:27,30,39,43,49 // 2 Chr 6,18,21,30,33, 39; 1 Kgs 22:19 // 2 Chr 18:18; Isa 6:1; 40:22; Joel 4:12; Ps 2:4; 7:8 (reading *šēbâ* for *šûbâ*, cf. Num 10:36; Isa 30:15; Ps 116:7); 9:5,8,12; 22:4; 29:10; 33:14; 47:9; 55:20; 68:17; 102:13; 113:5; 123:1; 132:14; Lam 5:19 *and* the occurrences mentioned in note 17. – For a discussion of the theological use of *yāšab* see *Görg* (forthcoming article in TWAT).

27 The translation is that of *J. Gray* (1970: 212). For studies of 1 Kgs 8:12-13 see *Wellhausen* (1889: 271); *Westphal* (1908: 163-167) *v.d. Born* (OTS 14/1965; 235-244), *Görg* (UF 6/1974, 55-63) and *Loretz* (UF 6/1974, 478-480).

28 The expression *byt zbl* may well be the Canaanite counterpart of Egyptian *pr[h]wt špsj(t)*, "ehrwürdiges Haus", see *Görg* (UF 6/1974, 55-63 esp. pp. 62f.

29 This word is used about a royal palace (e.g. 1 Kgs 21:1; 2 Kgs 20:18; Amos 8:3; Ps 45:9,16) and about the Temple of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 18:16; 23:4; Isa 6:1; Jer 7:4 etc.). On this term see *Ottosson* (TWAT 2/1977, 408-415).

30 For *mākôn* used in this sense see Exod 15:17, Isa 4:5 and Dan 8:11. These texts can be brought in connection with the Zion theology, in which God's throne is on earth. Other texts use the word in connexion with the heavenly throne of God: 1 Kgs 8:39,43,49; Isa 18:4; Ps 33:14.

You brought them, you planted them in the mount of your possession,
the dais of your throne which you made, O Lord,
the sanctuary, O Lord, which your hands created.
(Exod 15:17)[30a]

In spite of arguments for an early date for Exod 15:1-18, it is difficult to suppress the suspicion that the text in its present form presupposes the Zion tradition.[31] Just as in other texts bearing the earmarks of the Zion tradition, here, too, we find the motif of the chaos battle transposed into that of the battle with the nations.[32] Moreover, just as the classical formulations of the Zion tradition depict God reigning on his Temple-mountain as king, Exod 15:18 expresses the same idea explicitly.

The specialized use of the verb *yāšab* to describe the divine presence also occurs in the following passages:

Would you build me a house to dwell in [*bayit lĕšibtî*]?[33] (2 Sam 7:5)

ההר חמד אלהים לשבתו   אף יהוה ישכן לנצח

At the mount which God desired[34] for his abode,
yea, where the Lord will dwell for ever. (Ps 68:17)

כי בחר יהוה בציון   אוה למושב לו
זאת מנוחתי עדי עד   פה אשב כי אותיה

For the Lord has chosen Zion;
he has desired it for his habitation:
"This is my resting place for ever;
here I will dwell, for I have desired it."(Ps 132:13-14)

One feels impelled to ask whether the Zion theology's use of *yāšab/môšāb* does not also underlie the expression in Ezek 28:2, where we read *ʾēl ʾănî môšab ʾĕlōhîm yāšabtî*, "I am a god; I sit throned like a god" (NEB). This expression is further specified in 28:13-14, where the divine *môšāb* of the prince is the paradisical mountain of God, which is, of course, associated with Zion in other contexts (compare Ps 48:1-3 with Isa 14:13).[34a]

[30a] My translation follows that of *Cross* (1973: 141f.).

[31] Cf. *Jörg Jeremias* (1971: 196) and *Mettinger* (SEÅ 43/1978, 94-96). See the discussion below Ch. II.D.2.2.

[32] A beautiful example of the same development is found in Isa 17:12-14. For discussions of the *Völkerkampf* see *Wanke* (1966: 70-99), *Lutz* (1968) and *Stolz* (1970: 72-101). As *J.J.M. Roberts* has pointed out (JBL 92/1973, 337f.), the attempt made by *Stolz* (1970: 72-94) to demonstrate a pre-Israelite origin of the motif of the *Völkerkampf* is not convincing.

[33] See below Ch. II.A.1.

[34] One could also consider translating *ḥāmad* "to appropriate", cf. Exod 34:24 and see *Alt* (1953: 333-340) and *Gray* (JSS 22/1977, 23).

[34a] This is not to deny the possible Canaanite parentage of *môšab ʾĕlōhîm*, see *Clifford* (1972: 169 n. 90).

We also find the word *mĕnûḥâ*, "resting place", in the quotation above from Ps 132 (cf. v 8). The assumption that this word was used by the Zion theology is substantiated by 1 Chr 28:2, which refers to the Temple as "a house of rest [*bêt mĕnûḥâ*] for the ark of the covenant of the Lord and for the footstool of our God"; and by Isa 66:1, where the word occurs in a context coloured by the lexicon of the Zion tradition.[35]

The word *yāšab*, however, is the key expression recurring in significant contexts to express the presence of God in the Temple and on Zion. It is accordingly unsurprising that we find the participial form of the verb used to describe God as *YHWH yōšēb siyyôn*, "the Lord who dwells in Zion" (Ps 9:12).

Like *yāšab/môšāb*, the terms *šākan/miškān* also play an important role. "How lovely is thy dwelling place [*miškĕnôtêkā*], O Lord of hosts!", says the Psalmist (Ps 84:2). Elsewhere we read, "Let us go to his dwelling place [*lĕmiškĕnôtāyw*]; let us worship at his footstool!" (Ps 132:7; cf. v 5). Pss 43:3 and 46:5 are further occurrences to indicate that the Jerusalem Temple was designated *miškān(ôt)*.[36]

The verb *šākan* appears correspondingly in texts which bear witness to a usage related to the Zion tradition. Thus we encounter *šākan* in the classical passage expressing the theology of the Presence, when the Lord says that he "would dwell [*liškōn*] in thick darkness" (1 Kgs 8:12). We should incidentally observe that the verb here occurs in a context which also knows the use of *yāšab* (*mākôn lĕšibtĕkā*, v 13), and that the two are paired again in Ps 68:17.

Additionally, this theological use of *šākan* finds participial solidity in a divine epithet when Isaiah speaks of, "the Lord of hosts, who dwells [*haššōkēn*] on Mount Zion" (Isa 8:18; cf. Joel 4:17,21; Ps 135:21). We shall later have occasion to return to the question of the content of *šākan* (see below, Ch. III.A.2.3); here it is sufficient to note that the Zion-Sabaoth theology had an established terminological use for *šākan* which has reverberations in a whole series of texts.[37]

[35] For these observations on *mĕnûḥâ* see *Metzger* (UF 2/1970, 157). Cf. also *J. Gray* 1979:25 n. 63).

[36] Echoes of this usage are found in Ezek 37:27; Ps 26:8; 74:7; 1 Chr 6:33; 2 Chr 29:6. The role of the term *miškān* in the theology of Zion has been stressed by *Kuschke* (ZAW 63/1951, 86) and *W.H. Schmidt* (ZAW 75/1963, 91f.).

[37] See Isa 33:5 (ptc); 57:15 (twice, once in the ptc); Ezek 43:7,9; Zech 2:14f.; 8:3; Ps 74:2; 1 Chr 23:25. In my opinion the use of *šākan* in P (see below Ch. III) is to be seen in the same perspective. – Note also *yhw ʾlhʾ škn yb*, "le dieu YHW demeurant en Yeb" (DISO 299), see *Porten* (1968: 107ff.).

3. The View of the Temple: The Concept of Unity

We saw above that Lord Sabaoth dwells *(šākan)* on Mount Zion (Isa 8:18). Manfred Görg has detected an inner contradiction in the notion of localizing the *heavenly* king to an *earthly* site (Mt. Zion). Görg himself sees a possible solution to the dilemma in a special understanding of the verb *šākan*, according to which the verb is said to imply that the Lord is not continuosly attached to the cult centre, but only present in it from time to time.[38] There is some question whether this way of attacking the problem does not neglect an important aspect of the Zion-Sabaoth theology, namely its insistence on unity, which sees in the Temple the meeting place between heaven and earth; the Temple is the spot at which spatial dimensions are transcended. If one takes account of this aspect, the problem of Isa 8:18 dissolves.

Taking as his point of departure Nabu-aplu-iddina's relief in the Shamash temple in Sippar (Fig. 4; 9th c.; copy of an older original), M. Metzger has developed a superlative analysis of this concept of unity.[39]

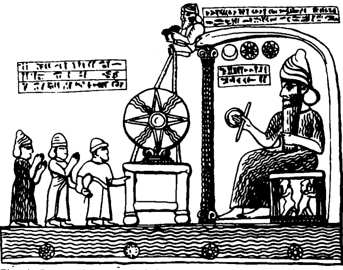


Fig. 4. Presentation scene and throne scene on Nabu-aplu-iddina's stone tablet in the temple of Shamash at Sippar. Scene 18 × 10 cm. Abu Habba. Nabu-aplu-iddina c. 885–850. London, British Museum, 91000.

[38] See *Görg* (1967: 110-124, esp. 113f.).

[39] See the publication in *King* (1912: 120-127 and plates Nos XCVIII-CII. Discussion in *Metzger* (UF 2/1970, 139-158, esp. pp. 141-144).

On the right half of the relief Shamash sits on his throne above the heavenly ocean. The other half depicts a procession in the Shamash temple; also this part of the relief is suspended above the heavenly ocean, which is represented by wavy lines extending across the entire breadth of the relief. Both scenes – the throne scene *and* the procession – take place above the celestial sea. Thus the event in the temple occurs simultaneously on earth and in heaven, so that the temple functions as the interface between earth and heaven. The same notion is also attested in Egypt[40], and in Canaan[41].

The phenomenon of sacred space was, of course, also well known in ancient Israel; here, too, we encounter what has been described as a mythical concept of space.[42] Thus Ps 48:2-3 depicts the Temple-mountain as "the heights of Zaphon", *yarkĕtê ṣāpôn*, using a terminology which apparently has Canaanite roots (cf. Isa 14:13f.). We also read,

> He built his sanctuary like the high heavens[43],
> like the earth, which he has founded for ever.
> (Ps 78:69)

This concept has nothing to do with any analogical typology, according to which the earthly sanctuary is a copy of its heavenly counterpart, although, as is well known, the latter idea is represented in late texts.[44] Rather, as expressed in the pre-exilic Zion tradition, the concept seems to imply unity or identity, the Temple is the site at which the category of space is transcended. Here the distinction is obliterated between the heavenly and the earthly, in that both are subsumed under a higher mystical identity.[45]

This concept may help to explain those passages which so unconcernedly locate God simultaneously on earth and in heaven. Thus in Ps 76, one of the psalms of Zion, God dwells in Salem and on Zion (v 3). A few verses later we read, "From the heavens thou didst utter judgment" (v 9). When God speaks from Zion, he also speaks from heaven. This

[40] See *Mettinger* (Sabaoth, at notes 40-42).
[41] See *Mettinger* (Sabaoth, n. 43). Cf. also *Ahlström* (1975).
[42] For instance by *Childs* (^{2}1962: 84-94) and *J. Maier* (1964: 101-105). – There is a considerable literature on this aspect of the Temple and Mount Zion, see *Talmon* (TWAT 2/1977, 459-483). For his own part, Talmon is sceptical about the "omphalos" interpretation of *ṭabbûr* (Judg 9:37; Ezek 38:12), see *Talmon* (1977: 243-268; *idem*, TWAT 2/1977, 472-473, and *idem* VTSup 39/1978, 348-351). This criticism is certainly worthy of attention but does not affect the conclusion about the sacred mountain as "Weltachse" (cosmic axis), as Talmon himself correctly points out (TWAT 2/1977, 473-475).
[43] Reading *kimrōmîm*, cf. Ps 148:1.
[44] See Exod 25:9, 40; 26:30; 1 Chr 28:19; Wis 9:8.
[45] Especially *J. Maier* (1964: 101-105) and *Metzger* (UF 2/1970, 139-158) stressed the identity between heaven and earth in the sacred space of the sanctuary.

thought is also reflected in the intercessory prayer for the king in Ps 20, which requests,

> May he send you help from the sanctuary
> and give you support from Zion! (Ps 20:3)

In so doing, he thereby acts from heaven:

> Now I know that the Lord will help his anointed;
> he will answer him from his holy heaven
> with mighty victories by his right hand. (Ps 20:7)

The same thought underlies Ps 14, in which the Psalmist notes that, "the Lord looks down from heaven" (v 2) and goes on urging, "O that deliverance for Israel would come out of Zion!" (v 7; cf. Ps 53:3,7). This concept of space explains in my opinion the significant variations between the apparently parallel expressions in Amos 1:2 and Jer 25:30:

יהוה מציון ישאג ומירושלם יתן קולו

> The Lord roars from Zion,
> and utters his voice from Jerusalem.
> (Amos 1:2; cf. Joel 4:16)

יהוה ממרום ישאג וממעון קדשו יתן קולו

> The Lord will roar from on high,
> and from his holy habitation utter his voice.
> (Jer 25:30)

In the Sabaoth theology, we meet the heavenly king on his cherubim throne in the Temple. The heavenly and the earthly may not be regarded as two opposed poles in a field of tension; rather, heaven and earth become one in the sacred space of the sanctuary. Thus the Psalmist can say in synonymous parallelism,

> The Lord is in his holy temple [*hêkāl qodšô*],
> the Lord's throne is in heaven. (Ps 11:4)

By the same token, we are not to conclude that the Sabaoth theology was characterized by a trivial and unqualified doctrine of immanence, since there are indications in the texts which may not be ignored in this connexion. The proportional relations between the *dĕbîr* and the two cherubim must for one thing be respected, since half of the height of the *dĕbîr*, which was 20 cubits (1 Kgs 6:20), is occupied by the 10 cubit-high cherubim (1 Kgs 6:23). This relationship seems to imply that the enthroned God bursts the confines of the Temple.[46] Ps 24:7-10

[46] See *J. Maier* (1964: 104f.) and contrast *Keel* (1977: 35 n. 46).

likewise shows the inability of the Temple's earthly locale to contain the entering Lord Sabaoth:[47]

> Lift up your heads, O gates!
> and be lifted up, O ancient doors! (Ps 24:7,9)

Moreover, we are occasionally told that the Lord assumes massive dimensions in relation to the Temple, as, for example, when Isa 6:1 says that the Lord's *šûlîm*, that is, the train of his mantle, or perhaps rather its hem, fills not only the *dĕbîr* but the *hêkāl* as well.[48]

4. Temple and Theophany

Before we abandon the Zion-Sabaoth theology, the question necessarily arises concerning the relationship between this theology and what may be termed the theophanic tradition. By "theophany" I understand those divine self-revelations in which (a) God's movement to or from a place plays a special role, and in which (b) God's coming may be identified by means of accompanying phenomena (storm, lightnings, fire, etc). Revelations in which God's appearance and form are of importance fall outside the purview of this narrow definition.[49] This theophanic tradition had a variety of roots, since we may assume that the theophany on Zion, the martial theophanies of the wars of Yahweh, and finally the theophany of the chaos battle will each have contributed to the development of this tradition.[50]

We are here not interested in the genesis or original *Sitz im Leben* of the various component motifs;[51] nor shall we here be concerned with the question of whether Temple worship in monarchical times entailed a ritually expressed theophany. We are simply concerned to discover whether those circles which fostered the Jerusalem tradition knew and accepted the concept of theophany, or whether the notion of God's continual residence on Zion excluded the main idea of the theophanic tradition, that of the coming of God.[52]

[47] Adduced by *Metzger* (UF 2/1970, 145).

[48] Adduced by *Metzger* (UF 2/1970, 144). See also *Keel* (1977: 62ff.).

[49] See *Jeremias* ([2]1977: 1-2). An up-to-date bibliography is found in this work. A survey of the scholarly discussion of theophany is found in *T.W. Mann* (1977: 1-23). See also below Ch. IV.

[50] See *Stolz* (1970: 92f. n. 93).

[51] As regards the original *Sitz im Leben, Lipiński* (1965: 241-256) suggests a situation before a YHWH-war, while *Jeremias* ([2]1977: 136-150) thinks of the victory celebration after a successful campaign.

[52] We shall later revert to the problem whether the theophany was ritually acted out or represented in the Jerusalem cult (below Ch. IV). The related but not identical question of a cultic *Sitz im Leben* for the poetic material describing theophanies has been a matter of dispute. *Westermann* (1953: 65-72) questions a cultic *Sitz im Leben*. – A number of scholars, however, go so far as

The witness of the texts implies that the latter was by no means the case. Thus Isaiah, rooted as he was in the Zion tradition, was able to speak of the Lord's "descent":

> ... so the Lord of hosts will come down [*yērēd*]
> to fight upon Mount Zion and upon its hill. (Isa 31:4)[53]

The same choice of words is echoed by a text which must have been used in Temple worship:

> He bowed the heavens, and came down [*wayyērad*];
> thick darkness was under his feet (Ps 18:10)[54]

To this should be added the observation that the theophanic tradition was enriched by the motif of the chaos battle, as various texts show (Nah 1:4; Hab 3:8; Ps 18:16; 77:17). This theme is absent from the most archaic theophany texts (Deut 33:2-3; Judg 5:4-5); its occurrence in certain theophany texts is most easily explained by the role played by the chaos battle in the Jerusalem tradition.[55]

Above all, we should note that as early as the poetic declaration of Solomon the construction of the Temple was linked with the Lord's wish to dwell in *ʿărāpel*, "the heavy cloud" (1 Kgs 8:12-13). The term used in the Sinai tradition for the cloud of the theophany was *ʿānān (kābēd)* (Exod 19:9,16; 34:5; cf. 24:15-18). In fact, the word *ʿānān* plays a very prominent role in the prose texts of the Pentateuch;[56] a few times in these texts we also encounter *ʿărāpel* (Exod 20:21; Deut 4:11; 5:22), but none of these passages belongs to the old Sinai traditions.[57]

The question accordingly arises: Within which tradition was *ʿărāpel*

to assume a ritual actualization of the theophany. See *Mowinckel* (1922: 107ff.; 1951: 144f.), *Weiser* (1950: 513-531; ZAW 77/1965, 158-165, esp. pp. 163f.), *Beyerlin* (1961: 153ff.) and *H.P. Müller* (VT 14/1964, 183-191). Note how *Beyerlin* tries to eliminate the idea of a permanent presence of YHWH over the cherubim (pp. 134f.). In his standard work on theophany, *Jeremias* was at first sceptical about a *Sitz im Leben* in the Jerusalem cult as suggested by Mowinckel and Weiser (Jeremias pp. 118-122). In the second edition, however, he softens his criticism (Jeremias ²1977: 177). And in his article on "theophany" in IDBSup, Jeremias seems willing also to admit the possibility of a cultic representation of the theophany (pp. 896-898).

[53] *Wildberger* (BKAT X: 13-15 p. 1240) has no misgivings about the Isaianic origin of the passage.

[54] *Crüsemann* (1969: 254-258) gives good arguments for the independent origin of Ps 18 A and B but believes that the combination of the two parts could have taken place in the late pre-exilic period just as well as in post-exilic times. – There are affiliations with the theology of Zion within the passage describing the theophany (vv 8-16): the cherub (v 11), *nātan qōl* (v 14; cf. Ps 46:7; Amos 1:2; Joel 4:16), the chaos battle (v 16; cf. below note 55) and the use of *gāʿar* (cf. Ps 76:7, noun, and Isa 17:13, verb).

[55] See e.g. Ps 24:2; 74:13-15; 89:10f.; 93:3f. and 104: 5-9. Note also how the chaos battle underwent a transformation into the *Völkerkampf* (Isa 17: 12-14). On the battle motif see particularly *Stolz* (1970: 12ff., 60ff., 174f.) and see below Ch. II.D.

[56] For a survey of the use of *ʿānān* see *T.W. Mann* (1977: 256f.).

[57] *Beyerlin* (1961: 18) regards Exod 20:18-21 as a variant of the Elohistic narrative in Ch. 19.

at home? – A handful of texts seem to suggest that it belonged to the Jerusalem cult tradition, where its use was highly significant. For one thing, the word occurs both in a couple of theophanies (Ps 18:10; 97:2) and in connexion with the Day of the Lord (Joel 2:2; Zeph 1:15; Jer 13:16; cf. Amos 5:18,20).[58] But the theophany cloud is not merely loosely associated with the Temple; rather, it seems to have been literally represented by the structure, since it is not unthinkable that the darkness in the *dĕbîr* was held to represent God's covering of clouds.[59] While this may well have been its original significance, it seems in the course of time to have been replaced by yet another conception. In one of the psalmic depictions of the theophany, we encounter a cherub as the vehicle of God:[60]

ויט שמים וירד   וערפל תחת רגליו
וירכב על כרוב ויעף   וידא על כנפי רוח

He bowed[61] the heavens, and came down;
thick darkness was under his feet.
He drove[62] a cherub, and flew;
he came swiftly upon the wings of the wind.
(Ps 18:10-11)

The Lord is not depicted here as mounted upon the back of a cherub, nor as standing on it. The idea underlying the image is the arrival of the Lord in his heavenly war chariot. A passage in a related text seems illustrative:

השם עבים רכובו   המהלך על כנפי רוח

who makest the clouds thy chariot,
driving forth on the wings of the wind.
(Ps 104:3; cf. Isa 19:1)[63]

[58] I share the opinion of *Mowinckel* (1922), *J. Gray* (SEÅ 39/1974, 5-37) and others that the idea of the Day of the Lord originated in the Jerusalem cult tradition and reflects the role of theophany and battle in the autumn festival.

[59] So *de Vaux* (1965: 328) and *J. Maier* (1964: 105).

[60] For the following argument cf. *Torczyner* (1930: 38ff.) and *Weiser* (1950: 520).

[61] For other interpretations see the references in *Jeremias* ([2]1977: 168f.).

[62] The verb *rākab* here means "drive", (Germ. "fahren"), not "ride". Cf. Jer 17:25; 22:4; 51:21; Hagg 2:22 and see especially Hab 3:8: *kî tirkab ʿal sûsêkā markĕbōtêkā yĕšûʿâ*, "dass du mit deinen Rossen daherfährst, mit deinen siegreichen Wagen" (*Rudolph*, 1975: 231 and cf. 235). See *Mowinckel* (VT 12/1962, 278-299, esp. pp. 296-299) and *P.D. Miller* (1975: 105). The formulation *rākab ʿal* ... (Ps 18:11; Hab 3:8) is probably due to the fact that standing in his chariot the charioteer is above the horses and the chariot. On *rākab* see also *Schmuttermayr* (1971: 64-67), and *Ficker* (THAT 2/1976, 777-781).

[63] My own translation. – For wind/chariot see also 2 Kgs 2:11; Zech 6:5 (cf. v 1). Note also the comparison in Jer 4:13.

"The wings of the wind" recurs in both Pss 18 and 104, but the cloud-chariot of Ps 104 corresponds to the cherub of Ps 18. Thus I suggest that the phrase about the *ʿărāpel* beneath God's feet (Ps 18:10; cf. Nah 1:3b) is further developed in the phrase describing how God drives forth upon the cherub (Ps 18:11). The word "cherub" here refers to the cloud chariot of the Lord.

Now, there can be no doubt that the cherubim in the Temple were primarily employed to express the "throning" of God. However, those with some awareness of historical continuity knew well that the King *enthroned* in the Temple was none other than the *coming* God of the old theophanic tradition. In all probability, an awareness of this fact was already present in those circles which perpetuated the Jerusalem cult tradition; moreover, insight into this identity must gradually have enriched the believers' perceptions of their cultic symbols. Thus the cherubim, which originally basically represented a throne, came additionally to be regarded as the cloud-chariot of the coming God. For this reason we find at least one text in which the cherubim are connected with the cloud of the theophany (*ʿărāpel*), and with the wind, and are no longer understood as a throne, but as a war chariot (Ps 18:10-11).

The deepest roots of the throne symbolism seem to reside in the iconographic tradition centred around El.[64] The chariot of the theophany can also be traced back to a Canaanite tradition, but in this case a tradition that is linked with the theophany of the storm god. Thus Baal is described as *rkb ʿrpt*, the "Driver of the Clouds."[65] Also, this image was so well established that Ramses III even permitted himself to compare himself with Baal, when he drove out in his chariot.[66]

However, this fact does not signify that the cherubim in the Temple introduced a "Baalization" of the figure of YHWH.[67] Other possibilities are more likely, since El had already adopted a number of Baal's characteristics in pre-Davidic Jerusalem.[68] Above all, the pre-monarchical Israelite theophany tradition utilized metaphorical language which was derived from the tempestuous theophany of the storm god.[69]

This interpretation of the cherubim as the cloud-chariot of God, attested in Ps 18, should not be viewed as mere momentary enthusiasm for poetic speech; rather, this idea has left unmistakable traces in later texts, and implicitly underlies both Ezekiel's description of the throne as

[64] See *Mettinger* (Sabaoth, the discussion of Shiloh).
[65] See CUL (p. 573) and cf. *de Moor* (1971: 98).
[66] See *Stadelmann* (1967: 40f.).
[67] Contra *J. Maier* (1964: 105) and *Würthwein* (1977: 90).
[68] See *E. Otto* (VT 30/1980, 316-329, esp. pp. 325-328).
[69] See *Jeremias* ([2]1977: 73-90) and *Cross* (1973: 147-177).

a chariot[70] and the Chronicler's explicit reference to the cherubim throne as a *merkābâ* ("chariot", 1 Chr 28:18).

Thus the insights we have garnered on the theme of Temple and theophany in the last analysis signify that the symbols of the cherubim embraced two diametrically opposed aspects of God. Therefore the Temple theologians seem to have counselled a *complementary*, rather than contradictory, relationship between the enthroned King and the coming God. These two aspects are by no means to be played off against each other.[71] Both had origins in the cultic tradition, and, further, both were of importance for later theological reflection concerning the presence of God. The outstretched wings of the cherubim help to create an iconographic impression of "frozen motion", and thus through a brilliant paradox unify the idea of static presence implicit in the throne motif with the dymanic parousia implicit in the theophany.

The theophanic tradition was fully incorporated into the Temple theology, which helps to explain passages which unmistakably connect the God enthroned on Zion with the theophany:

> Out of Zion, the perfection of beauty, God shines
> forth [*hôpîaʿ*]. (Ps 50:2)
>
> Thou who art enthroned upon the cherubim, shine
> forth [*hôpîʿâ*]. (Ps 80:2)

Summary

In order to set the Name and Glory theologies in perspective, we have examined in this introductory chapter the various conceptions of the presence of God in the Jerusalem cult tradition. We have accordingly dealt with the Zion-Sabaoth theology and with the theophanic tradition. Before proceeding further it will be useful to reiterate the following conclusions:

(1) Seen in the light of Near Eastern art, the pre-eminent cult symbols of the Temple, that is, the cherubim and the Ark, may be interpreted as a throne and footstool, respectively. The cherubim throne in the inmost chamber of the Temple has a corollary in the divine epithet *YHWH*

[70] Note *ʾôpan* in Ezek 1:15-21; 3:13; 10:6-19; 11:22 and *galgal* in Ezek 10:2,6,13 (cf. Ps 77:19). Cf. also Dan 7:9.

[71] *Weiser* is very sensitive to the role of the theophany in the cultic tradition (1950: 513-531; ZAW 77/1965, 162-165) but certainly lays too heavy emphasis on this aspect when he tends to see *Wohntempel* and *Erscheinungstempel* as mutually exlusive alternatives (ZAW 77/1965, 153-168, esp. pp. 158-165). The insight that these two aspects were united in the Jerusalem cult tradition has been formulated by e.g. *J. Maier* (1964: 105), *Clements* (1965: 63, 136) and *Wildberger* (1978: 709).

ṣĕbāʾôt yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm, "the Lord of hosts, who is enthroned on the cherubim."

(2) Just as the visual centre of the Temple is the cherubim throne in the *dĕbîr*, the nucleus of the Zion-Sabaoth theology is the concept of God as the heavenly King who thrones upon the cherubim and who is invisibly present in his Temple. The concept of God is thus at once both aniconic and anthropomorphic. The verb *yāšab*, "to sit, remain, dwell", is employed to express the divine presence; this verb is in certain passages clearly related to the idea of the enthroned God. The verb *šākan*, "to settle down, abide, dwell", is intermittently also used of the presence on Zion.

(3) As far as the Temple is concerned, we here encounter a unificatory conception: the Temple is the place where the category of space is transcended and the borderline between heaven and earth is erased.

(4) The Jerusalem tradition received a legacy in the form of the theophanic tradition's concept of the coming of God. This was understood as a direct continuation of Israel's experiences with her God, in that the throning King in the Temple was none other than the coming Lord of the theophanic tradition. These twin aspects of God's nature were conjoined in a paradoxical and fruitful relationship of mutual complementarity. As a corollary of this relationship, the Temple theologians interpreted the cherubim as not only the throne of God, but as his chariot, that is, the vehicle of his theophany, as well.

The Solomonic Temple survived for almost four hundred years before its final devastation. We must reckon with the possibility that the Zion-Sabaot theology developed and took on some new features during this long span of time. However, the evidence seems to suggest that the concept of the divine presence was a constitutive element in this theology from the very beginning.

We have not here had occasion to discuss the notion of the inviolability of Zion, but it would perhaps be appropriate to ask whether those scholars who assign it a late date and derive its origins from the Assyrian crisis in 701 have done justice to the fundamental importance of the motif of the Presence in the Zion tradition.[72] If the heavenly King is present in his capital city, that city must *ipso facto* enjoy a privilege of security guaranteed by God himself.

[72] Especially *W. Dietrich* (1976:206-212) and *Clements* (1980: esp. pp. 72-89) argue that the motif of inviolability developed during the seventh century B.C. Clements lays heavy emphasis on the role of the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem in 701 B.C. as a decisive factor in this alleged development and believes that the relevant passages in Isaiah were the result of redactional work during the reign of Josiah.

The Name Theology

In the Zion tradition, we encountered Lord Sabaoth on his cherubim throne in the *dĕbîr* of the Temple. However, if we remove to the time of the Exile the picture is radically different, since we no longer find Lord Sabaoth, but God's *šēm*, that is, his "Name", in conjunction with the sanctuary. This is the case in Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic Historical Work, and the prophet Jeremiah.

Before we attempt to analyze this problem, it will first be necessary to review the basic materials, and to offer a brief account of the critical discussion of the Name theology. In this presentation I will use the term D-Work as a catch-all designation for the Deuteronomistic Historical Work, and where necessary I will distinguish between its first edition (DtrH) and subsequent redactions (DtrP and DtrN).[1]

[1] I accept as basically correct the theory that a first edition of this work (DtrH) subsequently underwent a prophetic (DtrP) and a nomistic redaction (DtrN). For this approach see *Smend* (1971: 494-509), who introduces DtrN into the discussion, *W. Dietrich* (1972), who lays bare a number of passages belonging to DtrP, and *Veijola* (1975 and 1977), who gives further evidence for this understanding of the process of redaction. See also *Mettinger* (1976: 19-22 and 276-281). Note however the scepticism voiced by *Hoffmann* (1980: 18f., 317f., cf. *ibid.* 59 n. 2, 127-139 and 169-263).

The *date* of the D-work is a matter of dispute. Is already the first edition (DtrH) exilic or not? – Among scholars arguing in favour of a pre-exilic date, the following should be mentioned: *Nowack* (BZAW 41/1925, 221-231 esp. 228ff.), *Gray* ([2]1970: 6-9), *H. Weippert* (Bib 53/1972, 301-339), *Cross* (1973: 274-289), *Clements* (1980: 66-71; 90-108, esp. 101ff.), *Levenson* (1981: 143ff.), and *Friedman* (1981: 167ff.). – Others are of the opinion that already the first edition is exilic, thus *Noth* (1943: 12; 91-110), *Jepsen* (1953), *Janssen* (1956: 13-16), *Dietrich* (1972: 139-148) and *Veijola* (1975: 137f.). Cf. *Diepold* (1972: 185) and *Hoffmann* (1980: 305f.). For observations on the exilic materials in 1 Kgs 8 see *Levenson* (1981).

My personal view of the development of the Dtr History may be stated as follows: (1) There was a pre-Dtr history from the days of Hezekiah (see *H. Weippert, op. cit.*). (2) The next step was the DtrH proper. This was possibly pre-exilic and in that case most likely from the period after 597 B.C., but it may just as well derive from the early years of the exilic period. (3) Finally there were two redactions of this work, DtrP and DtrN, which are certainly to be dated to the exilic period.

The important question for our present discussion of the Name Theology is whether the DtrH came into being before or after the events that so deeply affected the Temple. Such events took place already in 597 B.C., when the Temple was stripped (2 Kgs 24:13) and then in 586, when it was destroyed. *Thus, the important point is whether the DtrH is before or after 597.* I find a date after 597 highly probable and even incline towards the position that the work was composed after 586. Cf. below at note 84. – On these matters note the forthcoming works by *S. Norin* (in ConB) and *R.D. Nelson* (in JSOTSup 18).

1. lĕšakkēn and šēm

hammāqôm ʾăšer yibḥar YHWH (ʾĕlōhêkā bô) lĕšakkēn šĕmô šām, the place which the Lord your God will choose, to make his name dwell there": Deut 12:11; (12:21 according to Sam.); 14:23; (14:24 according to Sam.); 16:2,6,11; 26:2. Cf. 12:5.
Reflexes of this phrase are to be found in Jer 7:12; Ezra 6:12 (Aram.; cf. Ezra 1:3) and Neh 1:9.

2. lāśûm and šēm

hammāqôm ʾăšer yibḥar YHWH ʾĕlōhêkā/kem lāśûm (ʾet) šĕmô šām, "the place which the Lord your God will choose to put his name there": Deut 12:5,21; 14:24. On the Samaritan reading in Deut 12:21 and 14:24 see below Ch. II.B.1.
śîm šēm in conjunction with the Temple: 1 Kgs 9:3; 2 Kgs 21:7 // 2 Chr 33:7 (cf. 2 Chr 6:20).
śîm šēm in conjunction with Jerusalem: 1 Kgs 11:36; 14:21 // 2 Chr 12:13; 2 Kgs 21:4 (cf. further 2 Kgs 21:7 // 2 Chr 33:7).

3. hāyâ and šēm

In conjunction with the Temple: 1 Kgs 8:16 // 2 Chr 6:5; 1 Kgs 8:29; 2 Kgs 23:27; 2 Chr 7:16.
In conjunction with Jerusalem: 2 Chr 6:6; 33:4.

4. Construction of a house lĕšēm YHWH

2 Sam 7:13; 1 Kgs 3:2; 5:17; 5:19 *(bis)*; 8:17 // 2 Chr 6:7; 1 Kgs 8:18 // 2 Chr 6:8; 1 Kgs 8:19 // 2 Chr 6:9; 1 Kgs 8:20 // 2 Chr 6:10; 1 Kgs 8:44 // 2 Chr 6:34; 1 Kgs 8:48 // 2 Chr 6:38; 1 Chr 22:7,8,10,19; 28:3; 29:16; 2 Chr 1:18; 2:3:
Note also 1 Kgs 9:7 // 2 Chr 7:20, "the house which I have consecrated for my name" (cf. 3 Macc 2:9); and 2 Chr 20:8: *miqdaš lĕšimkā*, "a sanctuary for thy name".

5. Calling the Name (niqrāʾ + šēm) over the Ark, the Temple, the Capital City

This corresponds to a legal formula for taking possession of property (cf. 2 Sam 12:28; Ps 49:12; Isa 4:1).[2]

[2] See *Galling* (TLZ 81/1956, 65-70). – Apart from the passages mentioned below connecting this formula with the Ark, the Temple or the city, the theological usage with the Name of God is also at hand in Amos 9:12 (Edom and the peoples): Isa 63:19; Deut 28:10; Jer 14:9 and 2 Chron 7:14 (Israel) and Jer 15:16 (the prophet).

2 Sam 6:2 // 1 Chr 13:6, used of the Ark.
1 Kgs 8:43 // 2 Chr 6:33; Jer 7:10,11,14,30; 32:34; 34:15, used of the Temple (cf. 1 Macc 7:37; Baruch 2:26).
Jer 25:29; Dan 9:18,19, used of the City.

6. The Name and the Temple/Jerusalem are also connected in:

2 Chr 20:9 *(kî šimkā babbayit hazzeh)*, Ps 74:7 *(miškan šimkā)*, Isa 18:7; 60:9; Jer 3:17 (the Nations shall flock to the Name of the Lord, cf. Tobit 13:11), Jer 33:9 (Jerusalem will become *lĕšēm śāśôn)*, plus 1 Chr 22:5 (the house ... *lĕšēm ûlĕtiperet)*.

The prospectus of the materials presented above prompts the following observations: (a) *Deuteronomy* is characterized by linkage between cult centralization and the Name in the Temple. Both Name formulas represent expansions of the short centralization formula[3] *hammāqôm ʾăšer yibḥar YHWH (ʾĕlōhêkā)*. Deuteronomy prefers *lešakkēn šēm* (six times), but we also find *lāśûm šēm* (three times). There is no reason to doubt that the short formula was solidly rooted in Deuteronomy[4] already prior to the incorporation of the latter into the D-Work. Concerning the Name formulas, the question is whether any of them were involved in the literary process by means of which Deuteronomy was incorporated into the D-Work.

(b) *The Deuteronomistic Historical Work.* – The D-Work does not contain the aforementioned conjunction of cult centralization and the Name in the Temple. Formulas containing *lĕšakkēn šēm* are entirely lacking in Kings, whereas formulas of the *śîm šēm* type are well attested (five times). These passages would seem to derive from a later redaction of the D-Work.[5] Compared with Deuteronomy, we find in the D-Work two new types of expressions, namely the notion that the Name "is" *(hāyâ)* in the Temple (three times), and above all expressions conveying the idea that the Temple was either built or consecrated "to the Name of the Lord" – (twelve times).

(c) *Jeremiah.* – While the Piel of *šākan* is admittedly found in Jeremiah (7:12), the passage in question may well be a product of Deuteronomistic influence.[6] In Jeremiah the connexion between the Name and the Temple is established by the statement that the Name has

[3] On the centralization formula see most recently *B. Halpern* (VT 31/1981, 20-38).
[4] See Deut 12:14,18,26; 14:25; 15:20; 16:7,15,16; 17:8,10; 18:6, 31:11.
[5] Cf. above note 1. – 1 Kgs 9:3 is DtrN according to *Dietrich* (1972: 72 n. 35). 1 Kgs 11:36 has the same provenance (Dietrich pp. 19f.) as have 2 Kgs 21:4,7 (Dietrich p. 31). 1 Kgs 14:21 should probably be explained in the same way.
[6] See *Rose* (1975: 216 n. 2) and see below.

been "called" over the Temple. Although this expression is typical of Jeremiah, it is also to be found in the D-work (1 Kgs 8:43). Jeremiah contains no assertions about the presence of the Name in the Temple which are comparable with those in the D-Work.

The question naturally arises as to how these expressions are distributed in relation to the decisive events of late pre-exilic times, namely the plundering of the Temple in 597 and its destruction in 586. A corollary to this is the question of what significance the devastation of the Temple had for the emergence of the idea of a connexion between the Name and the sanctuary. We shall return to these problems subsequently; here it will suffice to offer a preliminary survey.

The dating of the first edition of the D-Work, that is, DtrH, is of crucial importance in answering our first question. The two principal possibilities are as follows: (a) Zedekiah's reign, that is, the years following 597, and (b) the period subsequent to 586.[7] As far as I am aware, there is no firm evidence to support the conclusion that DtrH may be assigned a date prior to 597. However, it should be kept in mind that the critical work on the problem of the various redactional stages of the D-Work and their respective age is far from concluded.

Seen in this light, it is strikingly difficult to anchor the Name concept in the period preceding the two catastrophes of the Temple (ie., in 597 and 586). The numerous relevant passages in the D-Work can only with difficulty be used to support an early date for this concept. Moreover, we should note that none of the appropriate passages in Jeremiah belongs to the undisputed material of the book.[8]

There are nine such passages in Deuteronomy; the question is whether these can be assigned to the original Deuteronomy before its incorporation in the D-Work. Considering the significance the Name formulas enjoy in the D-Work, it is impossible to rule out the possibility that these occurrences in Deuteronomy either wholly or in part derive from Deuteronomistic redaction.

Status Quaestionis: A Short Survey of Criticism.

Our main concern in this chapter is to examine those conceptions of the presence of God which are expressed in statements which link God's Name with the Temple, and to determine the relationship of these conceptions to the older Zion-Sabaoth theology. The *problem* may be formulated as follows: do we find in these late texts a "Name" theology

[7] See above note 1.
[8] This will be discussed below.

in the sense of a consciously formulated alternative to the Zion-Sabaoth theology with its more massive conceptions of the presence of God in the sanctuary? The following review of the history of criticism[9] on this point reveals a palpable lack of consensus.

Scholarship has often sought to find in these texts a reaction against earlier notions of the divine presence; thus B. Stade regarded the various Name formulations as a conscious attempt to break with earlier ideas.[10] O. Grether related the expressions in Deuteronomy to an idea in then-contemporary prophetism that the Lord was the owner of the Temple, rather than its occupant: the Temple was no longer the dwelling place of the Lord, but only of his Name.[11] The Name theology was thus held to be connected with an increased emphasis on the transcendence of God.[12] The classic formulation of these views is provided by von Rad's *Deuteronomium-Studien* (1947):

> The Deuteronomic theologoumenon of the name of Jahweh clearly holds a polemic element, or, to put it better, is a theological corrective. It is not Jahweh himself who is present at the shrine, but only his name as the guarantee of his will to save; to it and it only Israel has to hold fast as the sufficient form in which Jahweh reveals himself. Deuteronomy is replacing the old crude idea of Jahweh's presence and dwelling at the shrine by a theologically sublimated idea.[13]

Other scholars such as G.E. Wright, R.E. Clements, M. Metzger, and M. Rose have endorsed this position.[14] M. Weinfeld also advocates it, and in a chapter in his monograph on Deuteronomy offers a perceptive discussion in which the dynamic tension between the Name theology and older views emerges with especial clarity. Weinfeld asserts the presence of the Name theology in both Deuteronomy and the D-Work, and argues that it functions as a polemic against the Zion theology.[15]

J. Schreiner, too, relates the Name theology to earlier conceptions, but takes a different perspective on the problem, in that he relates the Name theology to the complex of associations accruing to the Ark. Thus he points out that even in early times there was a connexion between the Ark and the Name (2 Sam 6:2,18; cf. Jer 7:12), and he concludes that the specific Name theology of the seventh century must have grown out of this connexion. However, to Schreiner the Name theology does not appear as a corrective or replacement of the "Ark theology", but rather as the result of an organic process of development.[16]

The Name theology had previously been studied in relation to the Ark traditions by F. Dumermuth, who held that the Name theology had evolved in North Israel, more

[9] A very good survey of research is found in *Dean S. McBride's* fine work (1969 Ch. 1). For McBride's own ideas see below.

[10] *Stade* (1888: 247). See also *Westphal* (1908: 186-194).

[11] *Grether* (1934: 31-35, esp. pp. 32f.).

[12] *Grether* (1934: 179).

[13] *G. von Rad* (Ges Stud II, 1973: 128, here quoted after the English translation, 1953: 38f. Originally published in 1947).

[14] *G.E. Wright* (1961: 181, originally publ. in 1944), *Clements* (1965: 79-99, esp. pp. 94f.). *M. Metzger* (UF 2/1970, 149-151), *M. Rose* (1975: 85f.). Rose regards the long formula with *lešakkēn/lāśûm šēm* as a correction of the short formula *hammāqôm ʾăšer yibḥar YHWH*.

[15] *Weinfeld* (1972: 191-209, esp. pp. 192-198). The polemical hints in 1 Kgs Ch. 8 are also well noted by *Metzger* (UF 2/1970, 149-151).

[16] *Schreiner* (1963: 158-164).

specifically at Bethel, during the period of the monarchy. When it was realized that the bull calf symbol was an unfortunate iconographic substitute for the Ark, the Bethel priesthood made a new attempt to compensate for the loss of the Ark to Judah by creating the Name theology.[17]

Questions of origin occupy stage centre in Dean S. McBride's important but unpublished work *The Deuteronomic Name Theology* (PhD. Diss., Harvard, 1969). McBride regards *lĕšakkēn šēm* as the key to the entire problem complex, and emphatically asserts that the phrase does not signify "to cause his name to dwell (there)," but "to put/place/establish his name (there)." This would correspond to the meaning of the G-stem of Akkadian *šakānum* (pp. 204-207). However, McBride holds, this expression was virtually an archaism, for which reason it was soon replaced by *śîm šēm* (p. 207). On the basis of this argument *škn šēm* is seen as a parallel to the various Near Eastern *Namen setzen* formulas, and, after extensive discussion of extra-Biblical material, McBride concludes that *škn šēm* was a North Israelite, originally Canaanite, *Namen setzen* formula (p. 208). The complete Name formula will thus have combined Jerusalemite election terminology *(hammāqôm ʾăšer yibḥar YHWH*, cf. Ps 78:67-72, and 132:13-14) with a North Israelite conception of the cultic presence of God through his Name (p. 209).

S. Terrien devotes considerable space in his work *The Elusive Presence* (1978) to the expression of the divine presence through the Name. He holds that in pre-monarchical Sinai traditions this sort of doctrine of the Presence is in evidence, as in Exod 33:12-23 (pp. 138ff.); however, with the construction of the Jerusalem Temple it was replaced by the theologoumenon of presence through the Glory (p. 171). Terrien further attempts to show that the Name theology had its home among the northern tribes, and asserts that it was nurtured in the old cultic centre at Shechem (p. 199). The Name theology began finally to play a part in Jerusalem in late pre-exilic times: "Josiah's Reform of the cult of Yahweh in the temple of Jerusalem under the influence of the Deuteronomic theology of the name was short-lived... A longingrained theology of glory in Zion had prevailed ever since the foundation of the temple" (p. 203). The Name theology is thus to Terrien very much a pre-exilic affair. In company with von Rad and many others, Terrien sees in the Name Theology "a presence which transcends the *hagios topos*" (p. 201).

The interpretation so forcefully advocated by von Rad and Weinfeld has been strongly questioned in recent years by R. de Vaux and A.S.v.d. Woude. De Vaux presented in his contribution to the Festschrift for L. Rost[18] a radically new understanding of the various Name formulas, according to which they are interpreted as expressions of taking possession and ownership (pp. 220-224). De Vaux's point of departure is the formula *niqrāʾ šēm* in Jeremiah, which may indeed be read in this manner.[19] Concerning *lĕšakkēn šēm*, de Vaux attempted to support his thesis by reference to *šumam šakānum* in two Amarna letters (EA 287,60-61; 288,5-7).[20] On the basis of 2 Kgs 17:34 and Dan 1:7, the *lāśûm* formula, too, seems to fit into this picture.

In other words, according to de Vaux the formulas do not attempt to answer the question of how God was present in Israel, but to express possession: the Temple belonged to the Lord, since his Name had been pronounced over the sanctuary. De Vaux

[17] *Dumermuth* (ZAW 70/1958, 59-98, esp. pp. 70ff.). Cf. also *Nicholson* (1967: 72f.). For criticism of Dumermuth see *Clements* (1965: 95 n. 1) and *Schreiner* (1963: 159-161).

[18] *de Vaux* (BZAW 105/1967, 219-228).

[19] See *Galling* (TLZ 81/1956, 65-70).

[20] These occurrences were introduced into the discussion of the "Name Theology" by *B. Jacob* (1903: 45f.).

also distinguishes sharply between Deuteronomy and the D-Work. The Name formulas in Deuteronomy are held to express the conviction that the Lord is owner of the Temple. This is not a Name theology as such, but rather a conception of a chosen place (p. 225). On the other hand, de Vaux discovers a Name theology in the D-Work, but it does not serve to provide assurances of the transcendence of God, since this was never in question. Rather, it has to do with God's efficacious presence in the Temple: he is present by virtue of his Name (p. 226)[21].

Three objections to de Vaux's thesis present themselves.[22] (a) The choice of *niqrāʾ šēm* as point of departure for the semantic analysis is questionable, since it occurs in passages in Jeremiah which may very well be of exilic date. Moreover, it occurs only once in DtrH. The formula *hāyâ šēm*, which features in the D-Work plays no part in de Vaux's analysis, nor does *lĕšēm*. (b) Hebrew *lĕšakkēn šēm* and EA *šumam šakānum* are incommensurable quantities, since one cannot without more ado compare the Heb. Piel with the Akk. G-form. (c) Above all, one seeks in vain to find in de Vaux's analysis any attempt to locate the use of the Name formulas within a wider theological context; just what character do these formulas assume if they be observed from the theological horizon of the Deuteronomistic literature?

A new phase of the discussion was inaugurated by van der Woude's article on *šēm* in THAT and his special study in the Festschrift for Hulst.[23] Like de Vaux, van der Woude emphasizes that the Name formulas express the personal presence of God in the cult, but rather than assuming that they express ownership, he chooses another pathway. On the basis of passages which have to do with naming (Judg 8:31; 2 Kgs 17:34; Neh 9:7; Dan 1:7) van der Woude interprets the formulas containing *lāśûm šēm* as expressing, "das Ausgesprochen-Werden des Namens."[24] The formulas containing *lĕšakkēn šēm* are accordingly to be understood in a corresponding fashion: " 'den Namen etablieren' im Sinne von 'nennen/erwähnen/kundgeben'."[25] Although he admits that such a use of *šākan* cannot find support in the OT, van der Woude seeks confirmation in Akkadian personal names with the structure *DN + šuma + iškun*, in which the last element is interchangeable with *izkur* and *imbi (nabû!)*. Such names should be rendered, "the god so and so has named the name." Thus the two formulas in Deuteronomy refer to the Name as uttered in the cult, rather than as dwelling in the sanctuary; they are to be understood on the basis of expressions like *hizkîr šēm*, "to announce his name", in the altar law in Exod 20:24, and *qārāʾ bĕšēm YHWH* in such passages as Exod 33:19 and 34:5. Both formulas may thus be connected with God's own pronouncement of his Name in the cult, a view held earlier, though without argument, by Weiser and Zimmerli.[26]

Thus van der Woude finds no Name theology in Deuteronomy, in which the cultic acts are, incidentally, said to take place *lipnê YHWH*, "before the Lord" (Deut 12:7,12,18; 14:23,26; 16:11). It would require a separate analysis to discover whether such a theology is present in the D-Work, but van der Woude regards the possibility as

[21] The position of *de Vaux* is largely accepted by *Seebass* (TWAT 1/1973, 600 f.) and by *Würthwein* (1977: 102f.).
[22] For criticism of de Vaux cf. *McBride* (1969: 215f. n. 34) and *Rose* (1975: 82-84).
[23] *V.d. Woude* (THAT 2/1976, 935-963, esp. 953-955, and 1977: 204-210).
[24] *V.d. Woude* (1976: 954).
[25] *V.d. Woude* (1977: 206).
[26] See *Weiser* (1950: 521 bottom) and *Zimmerli* (Gottes Offenbarung, [2]1969: 126, originally publ. in 1957).

highly unlikely.[27] – This argument stands or falls on the proposed semantic analysis, and it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the rendering of *lĕšakkēn šēm* in question cannot be supported by Biblical evidence.

To the critiques of the Name theology hypothesis offered by de Vaux and van der Woude should be added those of A.D.H. Mayes and H. Weippert. Speaking only of Deuteronomy, Mayes rejects the notion that the Name formulas represent a breach with earlier conceptions of the presence, since he feels that such a view introduces a false distinction between the Lord and his Name. Thus the formulas express, "the real and effective presence of Yahweh himself at the sanctuary," according to Mayes, with reference to Deut 4:7.[28]

Helga Weippert proposes to distinguish between the Name conceptions in Deuteronomy and in the D-Work. The formulas do not represent any limitation on the divine presence in Deuteronomy; when the name of God is proclaimed at the cult site, the sufficient conditions are created for Israel to invoke her God. She further holds that the concepts of a centrally organized cult and its legitimation by the Lord receive pregnant expression in the Name formulas.[29] The situation differs considerably in the D-Work, in that here it is no longer the case that the presence of the Name in the sanctuary also implies the presence of God.[30]

The results of critical research may be briefly summarized as follows: on one side we have scholars who speak of a Name theology in the sense of a consciously worked out alternative to the earlier Zion theology with its concrete conceptions of the presence of God (von Rad, Weinfeld, et al.); on the other we have scholars who question the idea that the Name theology represents a fundamental transformation of the idea of God (de Vaux), or who simply reject the very existence of such a theology (van der Woude).

Recent research has in particular stressed an important distinction between the theology we find in the original Deuteronomy and that present in the D-Work. There are, of course, many lines of continuity connecting these two works, but if we consider the possible consequences of the conquest of Jerusalem in 597 and the destruction of the Temple in 586, it is by no means certain that the theologies of the original Deuteronomy and the D-Work are identical. The tendency in contemporary research to contest the existence of a Name theology in Deuteronomy is to be seen against this background. Rather surprisingly, the argumentation against the Name theology has tended to rely on peculiar semantic theories about the contents of the Name formulas

[27] *V.d. Woude* (1977: 208). In his earlier publication (THAT 2/1976, 955) he was even definite on this last-mentioned point.

[28] *Mayes* (1979: 59f.).

[29] *H. Weippert* (BZ 24/1980, 76-94, esp. pp. 77f.).

[30] *H. Weippert* (BZ 24/1980, 81-88, esp. p. 85). – On the Name Theology see also *Merendino* (1969: 392-397, esp. pp. 391-397), *Walkenhorst* (1969: 153-160), *Seitz* (1971: 212-222) and *Würthwein* (1977: 102f.).

rather than on the critical discussion of the origins of the Book of Deuteronomy which has evolved in recent decades.

Accordingly, in order to decide whether a Name theology exists at all, we shall begin with the D-Work and subsequently plow a furrow in time back to the original Deuteronomy. Finally, we shall attempt to answer the question of how Jeremiah regarded the relation between God and Temple prior to the Exile.

The extensive materials relevant to our problem in the D-Work make it methodologically simplest to begin here. Our main interest is to arrive at an understanding of how Deuteronomistic circles in the period subsequent to 597 and to 586 dealt with the earlier conceptions of the presence of God in the Temple. The problem at this time can be termed, with L. Festinger, a sort of "cognitive dissonance" (see above, Introduction), in that the earlier ideas of the Lord's dwelling in the Temple were irreconcilable with Israel's recent experience of the sacking and destruction of the Temple.

We shall progress in our investigation by two stages. First, it will be necessary to sketch out the Name theology within the wider theological context of the concepts of God and Temple in the D-Work. We will subsequently examine the ways the cult symbols, that is, the Ark and the cherubim throne, were accomodated to the Deuteronomistic theology.

A. Is There a Name Theology in the Deuteronomistic Historical Work?

1. God, Name, and Temple in the Deuteronomistic Historical Work

A fundamental difference separates the idea of God present in the Zion-Sabaoth theology from that of the D-Work. While the Sabaoth theology is assuredly aniconic, that is, without cultic image, it is also anthropomorphic, in that the cherubim throne and the Ark indicate that God is conceived of as the King enthroned in his palace (the Temple). By way of contrast, the Deuteronomistic theology is programmatically abstract: during the Sinai theophany, Israel perceived no form *(tĕmûnâ)*; she only heard the voice of her God (Deut 4:12,15). The Deuteronomistic preoccupation with God's voice and words represents an auditive, non-visual theme.

We should also note the further observation that the ideas of the Sabaoth theology concerning the presence of God were primarily unitary: heaven and earth were conjoined in the Temple, where God ruled from his throne. Again, the Deuteronomistic theology shattered this

unitary conception by emphasizing the transcendence of God; we could, if the expression be allowed, say that God became "relocated" to the heavens above.

As above all Weinfeld has demonstrated,[31] the new formulations are made polemically over-explicit in the D-Work's version of Solomon's prayer of consecration (1 Kgs 8:12-13), which of course expresses a concept of immanence. The rejection by the D-Work of this earlier theology finds expression in the lengthy description of the consecration of the Temple (1 Kgs 8:14-66). The Zion-Sabaoth theology had assigned the enthronement of God to the Temple; this notion is now contested:

> But will God indeed dwell [*yāšab*] on the earth? Behold, heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built! (1 Kgs 8:27)

The passage clearly questions the notion of God's dwelling on the earth; when in the continuation of the passage the D-Work refers to the throne of God, the classical terminology employed in Solomon's speech of consecration recurs: *mākôn lĕšibtĕkā*. However, this expression is carefully modified by the continuation "in heaven" (vv 39, 43, 49; cf. v 30), a usage also to be traced in the relatively late Ps 33, where we read *mimmĕkôn šibtô*, "from where he sits enthroned", in parallelism with *miššāmayim*, "from heaven" (Ps 33:13-14).

There are also other examples in late texts which utilize the classical terminology, but link it with heaven as the place where God dwells.[32] Solomon's prayer of consecration also uses the term *bêt zĕbūl*, "a royal house", of the Temple (1 Kgs 8:13); Trito-Isaiah accordingly associates this term with heaven:

> Look down from heaven and see,
> from thy holy and glorious habitation [*mizzĕbūl qodšĕkā wetip'artĕkā*]. (Isa 63:15)

Yet another term is *mā'ôn*, whose role in the classical Temple theology as a designation for the dwelling of God on Zion is established by one of the psalms of Zion:

> His abode [*sukkô*] has been established in Salem,
> his dwelling place [*mĕ'ônātô*] in Zion. (Ps 76:3)

This language reappears in a Deuteronomistic passage, where it is linked with heaven:

[31] *Weinfeld* (1972: 193-198) and cf. *M. Metzger* (UF 2/1970, 150).
[32] See *Weinfeld* (1972: 198).

> Look down from thy holy habitation [*mimmĕʿôn qodšĕkā*],
> from heaven. (Deut 26:15)[33]

Moreover, where the earlier tradition is able to speak of the cherubim as the throne of God (cf. *yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm*), or as his means of transportation (cf. *wayyirkab ʿal kĕrûb*, Ps 18:11), Deuteronomistically coloured language replaces the cherubim with "heaven" (*rōkēb šāmayim*, Deut 33:26; cf. Ps 68:34[34]).

We should observe in this connexion the way the Sinai theophany is described in the D-Work. Earlier, pre-Deuteronomistic materials speak expressly of God's *descent (yārad)* from heaven (Exod 19:11,18,20; 34:5),[35] while the D-Work, in sharp contrast, contains no hint of such usage.[36] Admittedly, the Lord is said, with reference to earlier traditions, to speak "from the mountain" (Deut 5:4,22), but the mountain itself is said to burn with fire "to the heart of heaven" (Deut 4:11), and in extension of this we read the typically Deuteronomistic expression, "out of heaven he let you hear his voice" (Deut 4:36; cf. 26:15).[37]

With the earlier unitary conception shattered, the Temple assumes a different character in the D-Work. It is no longer the place in which God dwells, enthroned like a king, since he is held to reign from heaven. Instead, the Temple becomes a "house of prayer", in the sense that God hears the prayers offered by men "toward this place" (1 Kgs 8:29,30,38,42,44,48). It is conceiveable that this formulation points to an exilic date for the D-Work: the Temple has ceased to function, but the site continues to serve as *qibla*.

This radical theological re-orientation may be held to form the background which enables us to understand the Name theology of the D-Work. If one honours the requirement to examine these issues in their proper context, and thus evaluates this Name concept in a greater theological perspective, then one soon recognizes a grandiose attempt by the Deuteronomistic theologians to expel the pre-exilic doctrine of the Presence. Not heaven, nor even the heaven of heavens can contain God; how much less, then, any earthlhy Temple? We no longer encounter the immanent God in the Temple, the Lord Sabaoth who thrones above the cherubim, but God's *šēm*, his "Name". The Name concept of the D-Work is thus with abundant clarity seen to be an element in the rejection of the earlier theology.

[33] I do not find any decisive difficulty in the fact that the former text has the feminine form.
[34] *Mowinckel* (VT 12/1962, 298f.) takes such instances to mean that YHWH drives his chariot(s) over the skies. I rather believe that the heavens have taken the place of the earlier cherubim chariot.
[35] On *yārad* in connection with theophanies, see *Schnutenhaus* (ZAW 76/1964, 5-6, 12-14).
[36] As was pointed out by *Westphal* (1908: 65f., 266).
[37] Exod 20:22 is a Dtr accretion, as was pointed out by *Weinfeld* (1972: 206f. n. 4).

Two texts in the D-Work are especially coloured by the Name theology. For obvious reasons, the Deuteronomistic theologians were inclined to carry out their programme in such a way that the Temple emerged as a place for the name of God already "on the drawing-board", as it were. Consonant with this intention, the Name theology plays a significant role in the prophecy of Nathan. The fact that this is a pivotal passage in the D-Work has been made increasingly evident by the researches of recent decades.[38] The D-Work superimposes a theological distinction upon the prophecy of Nathan between the Temple understood as the place of God's throning and the Temple as the place for the Name of God. This is brought about by allowing the paired antonyms *lĕšibtî-lišmî* to clarify a couple of central formulations.

> *ha'attā tibneh lî bayit lĕšibtî*
> Would you build me a house to dwell in? (2 Sam 7:5)
>
> *hû' yibneh [lî]*[39] *bayit lišmî*
> He shall build me a house for my name. (2 Sam 7:13)[40]

The final Deuteronomistic layer of the Nathan prophecy is to be rendered as follows: David dwells *(yāšab)* in a palace, in a "house of cedar" (v 2); God has never desired to dwell in this fashion, as an earthly king dwells in his palace (v 7). The Temple which Solomon was commissioned to build was not a house in which God himself would dwell *(bayit lĕšibtî*, v 5), but only an envelope for his Name *(bayit lišmî*, v 13).[41] Thus the ancient conceptions of the divine presence are made obsolete by the idea of the "Name" in the Temple.

The other text in question is the description of the consecration of the Temple in 1 Kgs 8. We have already observed that this description entails a "relocation" of the Lord to heaven, which constitutes a departure from the pre-exilic Zion-Sabaoth theology. We further encounter the Name theology in this connexion. Using the principle of repetition as its guiding rule, the D-Work hammers in the insight that it is only the Name which "is" in the Temple, and that the Temple was constructed "for the Name of the Lord",[42] and not as a dwelling place

[38] For references to modern literature see *Mettinger* (1976: 49f.). It is particularly A. Carlson, D. McCarthy, Cross and Veijola, who have stressed this aspect. For the present writer's view of the prophecy of Nathan, see *Mettinger* (1976: 48-63).

[39] See *Mettinger* (1976: 53).

[40] My own translation.

[41] Already in 1976 I was aware of the possibility that *lišmî* in v. 13 could be due to Dtr elaboration, but I also considered the possibility that it could be pre-Dtr (p. 56). This latter alternative I no longer find probable.

[42] 1 Kgs 8:16,17,18,19,20,29,44,48.

for the enthroned God himself. The reader is never permitted to entertain the slightest doubt on this score.

Our conclusion is necessarily simple. Unlike de Vaux and van der Woude, we find it meaningful to speak of a Deuteronomistic Name theology, and to regard it as expressing a thorough-going transformation of the understanding of God. The Name theology undeniably represents a "strategic retreat" in relation to the front lines of the old Zion-Sabaoth theology, yet at the same time it represents a theological advance! It is namely impossible to doubt that this theology accomplished an important mission in a changed situation, in that the Name theology presents us with a transcendent God who is invulnerable to any catastrophe which might conceivably affect his Temple. It thus offers a resolution of the aforementioned "cognitive dissonance" caused by the clash of the classical concept of the presence of God in the Temple with the fact of the Temple's destruction. In this changed situation the Name theology reasserts the conviction that Israel will always be able to invoke her God: the presence of the Name at the sanctuary is the sole necessary prerequisite for prayer (cf. e.g. 1 Kgs 8:29).

2. *The Iconography and the Sabaoth Designation*

The earlier concept of the divine presence was linked with the most distinguished Temple symbols, the cherubim throne and the Ark. It is instructive to observe how these are dealt with in the D-Work, since here we find a new interpretation of the cultic symbols which testifies to a profound change of theological ideas.

To begin with, let us examine the Ark.[43] Comparative archaeological materials indicate that documents could be deposited at the foot of the divine image in Near Eastern temples. It is therefore likely that, as the footstool of God in Solomon's Temple, the Ark also doubled as a storage chest.[44] This function is given particular prominence in the D-Work; the old numinous role of the Ark as the footstool of the present God gives way to the more prosaic job of storing the tablets of the Law (Deut 10:1-5; 1 Kgs 8:9,21).[45] The Ark is accordingly designated "the

[43] The observations made by *von Rad* (Ges Stud I. ²1961: 109-129, esp. pp. 112ff.) are still valid, as appears from my analysis. On the Ark in Dtr literature see also *Westphal* (1908: 187), *Fretheim* (CBQ 30/1968, 1-14), *Perlitt* (1969: 38-42), *Weinfeld* (1972: 208f.) and *R. Schmitt* (1972: 99-102).

[44] See esp. *de Vaux* (1967: 256f., 272f.). See also *R. Schmitt* (1972: 119-121) and *Fretheim* (CBQ 30/1968, 12). – I find it probable that the Ark did exist prior to the settlement and then served as pedestal of God and as a storage chest.

[45] Cf. recently *O. Loretz* (UF 6/1977, 159-161).

ark of the covenant of the Lord", *ʾărôn bĕrît YHWH* (Deut 10:8; 31:9 etc.).[46]

We may now turn to the cherubim. In Solomon's Temple these formed a throne, a role they were not allowed to retain in the D-Work. A couple of passages are instructive here; one of these is the Deuteronomistic account of the construction of the Ark (Deut 10:1-5), which does not mention the cherubim at all. This is especially odd in that the established conjunction between the Ark and the cherubim is present in the Priestly descriptions of the Ark (Exod 25:10-22; 37:1-9). The other passage is 1 Kgs 8:1-11, which accounts for the installation of the Ark in Solomon's Temple. Although the literary analysis of this passage is unclear, it nevertheless contains some obviously Deuteronomistic formulations.[47] The cherubim have in fact survived here, since total silence concerning them will in this instance have been impossible, but there is no hint of their earlier role as throne.[48]

This treatment of the Ark and the cherubim in the D-Work would seem to be the result of the conscious suppression of the notion of the God who sat enthroned in the Temple. The earlier function of the central cult objects is in fact first made plain when the comparative archaeological materials (above, Ch. I.1) are used to illuminate the texts in their present Deuteronomistic form. Our earlier conclusion concerning the Name theology and its specific function is confirmed by these observations.

We have now reached a point where it would be appropriate to account for the distribution of the Sabaoth designation in the texts. We have observed that this title comprised the most important term in the Zion tradition for the God present in the Temple. Its extraordinary frequency in Isaiah Ch. 1-39 (56 times) is a decisive witness to its significance during the monarchy.

On the other hand, the Sabaoth designation is a rarity in those books which depict the history of the monarchy: only 15 occurrences appear in

[46] See esp. *F. Seyring* (ZAW 11/1891, 114-125). Note also *Perlitt* (1969: 38-42) and *R. Schmitt* (1972: 99-102). Cf. *Maier* (1965: 74f.), who understands the new Dtr idea of the Ark as expressing a limitation of the prerogatives of the king: Formerly there was a document in the Ark, linking God and king in a covenant. This is now replaced by a covenant between God and the people.

[47] Note "the ark of the covenant of the Lord" (vv. 1.6) and the contents of the Ark according to v. 9.

[48] Wether the formulation about their sheltering function (*sākak* in v. 7) vis à vis the Ark is of priestly or Dtr origin (cf. above Ch. I.1) should perhaps best be left open. – There is a most interesting possibility that the Dtr idea of the Name in the Temple, replacing YHWH Sabaoth on the cherubim throne, may be illuminated by Egyptian material. As *M. Görg* points out (Biblische Notizen 4/1977, 21) there is Egyptian iconographic material depicting the cartouche (name!) sheltered by winged beings. For a beautiful example see *Edwards* (1977: 98f.).

the corpus stretching from 1 Sam to 2 Kgs.[49] However, in the perspective we have outlined, this is only a superficial problem, since this literature in its final form is a Deuteronomistic product. In this corpus, the Sabaoth designation does appear in passages where its anchorage in older tradition would have made it difficult to exchange it with other titles.[50] It plays hardly any role whatsoever in the literary products of the Deuteronomistic theologians, which is intelligible in view of the fact that the notion of the God enthroned in the Temple had been eliminated.

On the level of theological concepts, the Name had taken over the place of Lord Sabaoth in the temple. On the level of language, it seems that the divine designation *ʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl* became important in the D-Work.[51]

The situation in two synoptic texts would seem to be enlightening. In Isa 37:16,32, the Isaianic version employs *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt* in its description of the events of 701, while *ṣĕbāʾôt* is lacking in the corresponding passage in the Deuteronomistic version (2 Kgs 19:15,31). The Qere in 2 Kgs 19:31 can scarcely represent an original reading.

B. Is There a Name Theology in Deuteronomy?

We have above in the D-Work found indications of a Name theology in the sense of a consciously worked-out alternative to the Sabaoth theology of the Jerusalem tradition. The question must therefore be posed as to whether this Name theology was already present in Deuteronomy.

The question of the literary growth of Deuteronomy is, as is well known, extremely complicated. In the first place, one must consider that the original pre-exilic Deuteronomy or law code was a corpus of smaller dimensions than the book which now is a component of the

[49] 1 Sam 1:3,11; 4:4; 15:2; 17:45; 2 Sam 5:10; 6:2,18; 7:8,26,27; 1Kgs 18:15; 19:10,14; 2Kgs 3:14.

[50] On the distribution of the Sabaoth designation in 1-2 Sam see *Mettinger* (Sabaoth n. 111). – As to proportions, note that Isaiah Ch. 1-39 amounts to 3.29% of the Hebrew OT, and here we find 56 occurrences of the Sabaoth designation. The D-Work amounts to 28% of the Hebrew OT, and here we find only 15 occurrences.

[51] No less than 68 occurrences of *ʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl* are found in the D-work: Josh 7:13,19,20; 8:30; 9:18,19; 10:40,42; 13:14,33; 14:14; 22:16,24; 24:2,23; Judg 4:6; 5:3,5; 6:8; 11:21, 23; 21:3; 1 Sam 1:17; 2:30; 5:7,8,10,11; 6:3,5; 10:18; 14:41; 20:12; 23:10,11; 25:32,34; 2 Sam 7:27; 12:7; 23:3; 1 Kgs 1:30,48; 8:15,17,20,23,25,26; 11:9,31; 14:7,13; 15:30; 16:13, 26,33; 17:1,14; 22:54; 2 Kgs 9:6; 10:31; 14:25; 18:5; 19:15,20; 21:12; 22:15,18. – On this divine designation see *Steuernagel* (BZAW 27/1914, 329-349) and *J.G. Janzen* (1973: 75-86, 156-161, esp. p. 77). – As a parallel phenomenon, note how *ʾădōnāy YHWH* becomes frequent in Ezekiel (above, Introduction note 10). The reason why I do not submit these two divine designations to a detailed analysis is that they reveal no particular connexion with the notion of divine presence, which is the main problem of this investigation.

D-Work. Significant parts of Deuteronomy may be assigned to those circles which were responsible for the DtrH and its subsequent redactions.[52]

Two features are important for our study: (a) The important sections dealing with the Ark (Deut 10:1-5; 31:9-13,24-29) did not belong to the original Deuteronomy.[53] (b) Those sections which stress the fact that God dwells in heaven (Deut 4:36; 26:15) are also among the Deuteronomistic materials.[54] If we therefore conclude that these materials are relevant to an understanding of the theology of the D-Work, but have no place in a discussion of the original Deuteronomy, then it is immediately less than obvious that the original Deuteronomy expressed a Name-conception that played a part in a breach with the older Sabaoth theology.[55]

To this we should add the fact that cultic activities take place in Deuteronomy *lipnê YHWH*, "before the Lord" (Deut 12:7,12,18; 14:23,26; 15:20; 16:11; 18:7). Admittedly, this usage may well be a sort of linguistic fossil, bearing no semantic cargo of importance, but taken at face value this expression makes it difficult to speak of a Name theology in Deuteronomy.

It is accordingly uncertain whether we may agree with those scholars who assume the existence of a Name theology as early as Deuteronomy.[56] On the other hand, the attempts in recent research to challenge the possibility of a Name theology in Deuteronomy have relied on semantic analyses of the *lĕšakkēn šēm* formula which are hardly convincing. There is therefore reason to re-examine the materials in question without presuppositions.

Our study of this problem in detail will proceed in two stages. We shall first consider to what extent the Name formulas in Deuteronomy may be held to be pre-Deuteronomistic (and thus do *not* owe their

[52] See *Mayes* (1979: 34-55) for a comprehensive survey.

[53] See *Nicholson* (1967: 31, 104, 112), *Seitz* (1971: 55f.) and *Mayes* (1979: 42, 194-196, 374, 379). The attempt made by *Fretheim* (CBQ 30/1968, 1-14) to attribute the three Ark passages (Deut 10:1-5; 31:9-13, 24-29) to the original Deuteronomy is not convincing.

[54] See *Mayes* (1979: 44,46), who ascribes these to later redaction. Here belongs also Deut 10:12 – 11:17 where we find the statement "Behold to the Lord your God belong heaven and the heaven of heavens ..." (Deut 10:14; cf. 1 Kgs 8:27). On Deut 4:32-39 and 10:12 – 11:17 see also *Lohfink* (1976: 116ff.).

[55] For example *Clements*, in his important paper (VT 15/1965, 300-312), did not pose the question whether this material belongs to the original Deuteronomy, as was pointed out by *Nicholson* (1967: 104).

[56] For instance *von Rad* (Ges Stud II, 1973: 127ff.; English translation 1953: 37ff.; original publ. 1947), *Clements* (1965: 89-96; VT 15/1965, 301-304), *Weinfeld* (1972: 194f.) and *Terrien* (1978: 198-203).

[56a] See *Mayes* (1979: 331ff.).

existence to Dtr redaction). We shall subsequently examine the linguistic significance of the oldest of the Name formulas.

1. Are the Name Formulas of Deuteronomy Pre-Exilic?

The distribution of the short form of the cult formula in Deuteronomy *(hammāqôm ʾăšer yibḥar YHWH)*, as well as the long form with either *lĕšakkēn šēm* or *lāśûm šēm* are as follows:

Ch. 12: the centralization of worship: v 5 *(lāśûm)*, v 11 *(lĕšakkēn)*, v 14 (short), v 18 (short), v 21 *(lāśûm)*, v 26 (short).

Ch. 14:22-29: the law of tithing: v 23 *(lĕšakkēn)*, v 24 *(lāśûm)*, v 25 (short).

Ch. 15:19-23: the law of firstlings: v 20 (short).

Ch. 16:1-17: The Festival calendar, Passover and Massoth regulations: v 2 *(lĕšakkēn)*, v 6 *(lĕšakkēn)*, v 7 (short); the regulations of Weeks: v 11 *(lĕšakkēn)*; the regulations of Tabernacles: v 15 (short), v 16 (short).

Ch. 17:8-13: the Court: v 8 (short), v 10 (short).

Ch. 18:1-8: the dues of the priests: v 6 (short).

In materials to be classified as Deuteronomistic, we find the formula in 26:2[56a] *(lĕšakkēn)* and in 31:11 (short).

Attempts to assign the various formulas to the different literary layers have already been made, notably by Horst and Rose;[57] the results obtained by the latter have been especially useful in preparation of the present work. Let us start with Ch. 12, which contains the law of centralization. It is generally agreed that the oldest part of this text is found in vv 13-19,[58] and here we find only the short formula. The passage vv 20-28 is an addition, but seems to be prior to the D-Work.[59] Here we find the short formula in v 26, but also *lāśûm* in v 21. The next stratum is composed of vv 8-12, which were edited by the Deuteronomistic historian.[60] We find *lĕšakkēn* here in v 11. Finally, vv 1-7 can be ascribed to later redaction of DtrH.[61] *Lāśûm* is found here in v 5. We

[57] *Horst* (1961: 26ff.) took the short formula to belong to a pre-Exilic layer, *lāśûm* to an Exilic one, and *lĕšakkēn* to a post-Exilic stratum. His idea that *lĕšakkēn* was the latest one was criticized by *Seitz* (1971: 213). The most promising attempt has been presented by *Rose* (1975: 59-94, esp. p. 77ff.), who discusses, however, only the material in Deut Ch. 12. According to Rose the short formula belongs to the original Deuteronomy, while *lĕšakkēn* is found in a pre-Dtr layer from the time before the Exile ("dtn Schule"). The formula with *lāśûm* is not found until the DtrH was subjected to later redaction.

[58] See *Rose* (1975: 65ff.) and *Mayes* (1979: 222).

[59] See *Rose* (1975: 68-72) and *Mayes* (1979: 222).

[60] See *Rose* (1975: 72ff.), *Veijola* (1977: 16 n. 5) and *Mayes* (1979: 222). Veijola ascribes this to DtrH.

[61] See *Rose* (1975: 72ff.) and *Mayes* (1979: 222). *Veijola* (1977: 16 n. 5) ascribes this to DtrN.

noted previously that this formula also occurs in the Books of Kings, where it seems to be due to a later redaction of DtrH (1 Kgs 9:3; 11:36; 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:4,7).[62]

Our impression is that the short formula is the oldest, as it is already present in the original Deuteronomy, whereas *lāśûm* is the latest one and belongs to one of the later redactions of the DtrH. A difficulty for this conclusion is found in 12:21 where *lāśûm* appears in a pre-Dtr stratum; however, there are strong reasons to believe that the original reading in this verse was *lĕšakkēn*.[63] In the first place, this reading is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch, and in the second, the LXX also points in this direction. *Lāśûm* is rendered by ἐπονομάσαι in 12:5, and in 12:21 the LXX reads ἐπικληθῆναι, which is the LXX translation of *lĕšakkēn* throughout Deuteronomy.

If it is correct to read *lĕšakkēn* in v 21, Ch. 12 then yields the following sequence: the short formula (in the original Deuteronomy), *lĕšakkēn* (in a pre-Dtr addition and in DtrH), and finally *lāśûm* (in what is probably DtrN). The question is whether the rest of the material in Deuteronomy supports this conclusion.

In Ch. 14:22-29, we note that vv 24-27 echoe certain formulations in 12:7,12,20-21, and that v 24, with the Name formula, seems to be patterned after 12:21.[64] Now, *lāśûm* is present in 14:24, but precisely the same considerations as in 12:21 lead us to read *lĕšakkēn*. Thus in 14:24 we have an occurrence of *lĕšakkēn* that is dependent on the secondary but pre-Dtr layer in Deut 12:20-28. Since one has also assumed the other occurrence of *lĕšakkēn* in Deut 14:23 to be secondary,[65] there is little reason to believe that 14:22-29 can provide evidence of the use of the Name formulas in the original Deuteronomy.

The formula with *lĕšakkēn* is also found in 26:2, which belongs, as noted above, to a Dtr context (26:1-15). There remain the materials connected with the cultic calendar in Ch. 16; here the passage dealing with Tabernacles knows only the short formula (vv 15-16), while we find *lĕšakkēn* in vv 2,6, and 11 in connexion with Passover and Weeks.

Ch. 16:1-17 is one of the most intensely discussed passages in the entire Book of Deuteronomy; it therefore seems impossible to reach any sure conclusion as to the relative priority of *lĕšakkēn* within this complex. The possibility cannot be ruled out that these occurrences of the

[62] See above note 5. Note also that just as in Deut 12:5 the election of the place is sometimes said to be made "out of all your tribes" (1 Kgs 14:21; 2 Kgs 21:7; cf. 1 Kgs 8:16; 11:32)

[63] As was noted by *Rose* (1975: 70 n. 1).

[64] See *Halpern* (VT 31/1981, 26f.).

[65] See *Merendino* (1969: 97).

verb were not found in the original law code.[66] On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that they are of Dtr origin.[67]

While keeping this uncertainty in mind, we may present the results of our inventory as follows: (1) There is only one certain attestation of *lāśûm šēm* (12:5), and this is located in a Dtr context (12:1-7), which may well belong to DtrN. *Lāśûm šēm* is namely attested several times in DtrN in the Books of Kings. (2) In all probability, certain of the passages containing *lĕšakkēn šēm* are both pre-Dtr and pre-exilic. This is true in particular of 12:21 (text. emend.); however, the formula in question is also employed later in the D-Work (12:11; 26:2). (3) On the other hand, it is difficult to argue that any of these occurrences belonged to the original law code,[68] where the short form alone *(hammāqôm ʾăšer yibḥar YHWH)* seems to have been used.

2. *The Semantic Content of lĕšakkēn šem*

While Name formulas were hardly used in the original Deuteronomy, the Name theology that we have found in the D-Work will in all likelihood have had ancient roots. The discovery that the *lĕšakkēn šēm* formula probably originated in the pre-exilic period, prior to the composition of the D-Work, makes it desirable to attempt to ascertain the content of this formula. The researches of recent decades have explained it in widely varying ways. Akkadian materials, not least among them two occurrences in the Amarna Letters (EA 287,60-61; 288,5-7),[69] have played an important part in these efforts.

De Vaux[70] interpreted *lĕšakkēn šēm* as a formula of taking possession, a conclusion largely based on the two Amarna passages. According to this view, *lĕšakkēn šēm* corresponds to EA *šakan šumšu*. However, EA *šakan* can in both texts only be construed as Northwest Semitic Qatal perfect (3 m/s).[71] If the verb is in fact NW-Semitic *šakan*, which in the G-stem means "to place, establish", then it is quite peculiar that the Hebrew formula uses the Piel. De Vaux offers no satisfactory answer to this difficulty; nor is he able to support his interpretation of the Hebrew formula by reference to any Heb. use of any of the conjugations of *šākan*.[72] To win acceptance, de

[66] Thus *Merendino* (1969: 125-152).

[67] For a recent discussion of Deut 16:1-8, see *Halbe* (ZAW 87/1975, 147-168). Halbe demonstrates that 16:1-8 is a purposeful and beautifully rounded off passage. But even so the Name formula may well be secondary. Halbe is mainly interested in the process that led up to the combination of Passover and Mazzot and does not discuss the Name formula.

[68] This means that I believe that Rose's conclusion (above n. 57) about Ch. 12 is valid also for the rest of Deuteronomy.

[69] Translated in ANET[3] p. 488f.

[70] *De Vaux* (BZAW 105/1967, 219-228). See also above at note 20.

[71] See *McBride* (1969: 114).

[72] One could have mentioned the use of Hiph. in Gen 3:24 and Ps 7:6.

Vaux's interpretation must be seen to be more probable than any competing alternative; it remains to be seen whether or not this is the case.

Similar difficulties attach to the interpretation propounded by van der Woude (above, n. 23), according to which the formula has to do with the proclamation of the Name at the cult site. Van der Woude supports his view with a number of interesting occurrences of Akk. *šumam šakānum*, which seems to refer to the participation of a god in an act of name-giving. However, he is not able to support this interpretation with any known use of *šākan* in Biblical Hebrew. Further, van der Woude's understanding of *lāśûm šēm* is based on the well-attested use of *śîm šēm* in connexion with naming (Judg 8:31; 2 Kgs 17:34; Neh 9:7; Dan 1:7); this view founders on the fact that the grammatical construction used in passages with *lāśûm šēm* is obviously different from those occurring in name-giving texts. In other words, van der Woude fails to make probable his particular interpretation of *lěšakkēn šēm*.

In his work from 1969, McBride (pp. 204-210) chooses a different path. According to him, *šākan* in the Qal form does not signify "to dwell", but "to tent, encamp". This meaning, which is predominant in Biblical Hebrew, is probably secondary and dependent on late influence from the use of *miškān*. The sense "to make the name tent" is admittedly theoretically conceiveable, but, according to McBride, it is unlikely; he proposes instead that Heb. *lěšakkēn šēm* is a *Namen setzen* formula comparable with similar formulas from the Near East (which he discusses in Ch. II). However, he only succeeds in finding two references, one Egyptian and one Sumerian, to divine names being "established", "set up" (pp. 121f.). Nonetheless, the fact that *lěšakkēn šēm* is eventually replaced by *lāśûm šēm* looks as if a difficult archaism has been turned into idiomatic Hebrew (p. 205), which supports McBride's view.

McBride's impressive discussion of the Near Eastern materials, including the Amarna evidence, cannot conceal the fact that his analysis of the Hebrew formula is beset with difficulties: (a) the idea that the Qal of *šākan* means "to tent, encamp" is unproven, not to say dead wrong (see below, Ch. III.A.2.3). (b) It would have been methodologically preferable to discuss *lěšakkēn šēm* primarily on the basis of the various conjugations of Heb. *šākan*. The radical *š-k-n* is, of course, common in Hebrew; the verb occurs 129 times. McBride's questionable interpretation of the Qal form has prevented him from viewing the Name formula in its appropriate framework. As a result, the extra-Biblical materials dominate his semantic analysis. (c) The emphasis put by McBride on Akk. *šakānum* in the G-stem and on the NW-Semitic Qal attested at El-Amarna, that is, on the meaning "put, place, establish",[73] leads him to the conclusion that all of the occurrences in the OT in which the verb is vocalized in the Piel are secondary. They are held to be the result of revocalization, not only in the case of *lěšakkēn šēm*, but also in other passages (Num 14:30; Jer 7:3,7; Ps 78:60; see pp. 206f. and 218). In other words, both the presuppositions and consequences of McBride's study lead us to consider yet another approach.

It is clear that the various suggested new interpretations of *lěšakkēn šēm* are all problematical. When I now assert the traditional interpretation of this formula in the Piel and defend its translation as, "to let (his) name dwell (there)", this is not only for want of better alternatives, but above all because this rendering is supported by positive observations. In

[73] On *škn* and *kūn* Š in Ugaritic see *Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín* (UF 6/1974, 47-53). On "Namen setzen" in Akkadian texts see *F.R. Kraus* (JNES 19/1960, 127ff.).

the following pages, I shall permit myself to anticipate the results of the analysis of *šākan* which is presented in the next chapter (Ch. III.A.2.3).

(a) There is a well-attested use of Heb. *šākan* in the Qal in the meaning "abide, stay".[74] An interpretation of *lĕšakkēn šēm* which does not isolate the formula from ordinary Hebrew usage, and which can lay claim to semantic "continuity", demands our attention immediately for methodological reasons.

(b) The main function of the D-stem and the Piel in Akk. and Heb., respectively, is factitive, that is, they are used to transform a nominal sentence in which a condition is expressed by means of the stative of the G-stem or a verbal adjective (gerundive).[75] This is directly applicable to *šākan* in the Piel, and it is along these lines the difficult passage in Ps 78:60 is to be read: *wayyiṭṭōš miškan šilô ʾōhel šikkēn bāʾādām*. A number of witnesses read the Qal here (see the App.), clearly because it is difficult to imagine the "tent" as the logical subject of *šākan*. According to this suggestion, the passage should be rendered, "he forsook his dwelling at Shiloh, the tent where he [sc. God] dwelt among men."

However, there are in fact some passages in which the tent is the subject of *šākan*, where the latter is conjugated in the Qal. Thus in Jos 22:19 we find mention of "the Lord's land where the Lord's tabernacle *šākan*", and Lev 16:16 has the participial version: *ʾōhel môʿēd haššōkēn ʾittām*, "the tent of meeting, which abides with them." These passages surely cast light on Ps 78:60, and it is simplest to translate *šākan* in the Piel as a factitive transformation of the Qal, "abide", or in other words "to let/make abide". Thus we translate, "the tent which he made abide with them."[76]

It is accordingly possible to retain the Piel in Ps 78:60 with a clear conscience, and to do likewise with Num 14:30 and Jer 7:3,7. The first of these speaks of, "the land where I swore that I would make you dwell" *(lĕšakkēn ʾetkem bāh);* it, too, represents a factitive use of the Piel. The Piel form is further used factitively in Jer 7:3,7. In this context, the gift of the land plays a part (vv 7,14) and the Piel of *šākan* in vv 3 and 7 refers to the people's dwelling in the land. Thus the correct translation should read, "I will let you dwell in this place."[77]

(c) Considering the above understanding of *lĕšakkēn šēm*, it is

[74] For details see below Ch. III.
[75] See *GAG* § 88 and *Jenni* (1968: 25-50).
[76] My own translation.
[77] The suggestion is sometimes made to read a Qal referring to God's dwelling among the people *(ʾinĕkēm)*. Note however the pertinent remarks made by *H. Weippert* (1973: 27 n. 4).

only natural to inquire whether an older theological use of *šākan* in the Qal once existed, which might conceivably have given rise to the transformation represented by the Piel. There is no reason to hesitate about answering this question. As I pointed out previously in my discussion of the Zion-Sabaoth theology (Ch. I.2), there are several occurrences of the Qal of *šākan* which refer to the Lord's dwelling on Zion; these are, moreover, expressed in participial form:

> *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt haššōkēn bĕhar ṣiyyôn* (Isa 8:18)
> *ʾănî YHWH ʾĕlōhêkem šōkēn bĕṣiyyôn har qodšî* (Joel 4:17)
> *wĕYHWH šōkēn bĕṣiyyôn* (Joel 4:21)
> *bārûk YHWH miṣṣiyyôn šōkēn yĕrûšālāyim* (Ps 135:21)[78]

The factitive use of the Piel in the *lĕšakkēn šēm* formula fits this theological use of *šākan* in the Qal, used of the dwelling of the Lord on Zion, as hand fits glove. The use of the Name formula can accordingly be understood when seen against the background of the usage of the Zion tradition, but with one important modification: the point is that it is no longer the Lord himself who is the logical subject of the action of dwelling. Rather, now it is the Name which dwells in the sanctuary, although it is the Lord who brings this about.

(d) An advantage of this interpretation of the Name formula, that is, as signifying, "to let his name dwell there", is that we no longer have to face a sharp distinction between the occurrences of the formula in Deuteronomy and the extensive materials in the Books of Kings, which link the Name with the sanctuary. The numerous passages which refer to the construction of a house "for the Name of the Lord" (see the survey of material above) may be seen to be complementary to *lĕšakkēn šēm*, which, as we have seen, expresses the dwelling of the Name in the sanctuary. Further, the expression *miškan šimkā*, "the dwelling of thy Name", (Ps 74:7) becomes intelligible when evaluated against this understanding of *lĕšakkēn šēm*.[79]

C. The Name Theology and the Destruction of the Temple

1. The Crucial Years

Thus far, we have examined the question of the existence of a Name theology in the D-Work and in Deuteronomy. The time is therefore ripe

[78] In addition to these examples note also Eleph. *jhw ʾlhʾ škn yb* (*DISO* 299).
[79] As was pointed out by *H. Weippert* (BZ 24/1980, 78 n. 6).

to return to the important question we posed during our preliminary disposition of the materials, that is, the relationship of the Name theology to the destruction of the Temple. On the basis of our studies up to this point we may sketch out the growth of the Name theology in the following manner:

(1) We find no Name theology in the original Deuteronomy; none of the Name formulas can be assigned with certainty to the original law code. We do, however, find the short centralization[80] formula *hammāqôm ʾăšer yibḥar YHWH*, a formula which is to be seen against the backdrop of earlier Jerusalemite election theology (cf. Ps 132:13-14, and also Ps 78: 65-72).[81]

(2) The Name formula containing *lĕšakkēn šēm* is employed in materials which are pre-Dtr additions to the law code (and it is then also used twice in purely Dtr materials). It appears that some of the passages that seem to be pre-Dtr presuppose the existence of a centralized cult plus the possibility of travelling to the cult site. We may with some probability argue for the appearance already before 586 of a Name formula which speaks of the "dwelling" of the Name at the chosen site.

(3) We find a full-blown Name theology in the D-Work which now functions polemically against the Zion-Sabaoth theology. Reference is no longer made to the "dwelling" of the Name in the Temple. The *lĕšakkēn šēm* formula is nowhere attested in the Books of Kings.[82] The disappearance of this formula seems to point to the fact that the Temple is no longer "habitable" at this time.[83]

Neither *yāšab* nor *šākan* plays any role in the linguistic usage of the D-Work;[84] this silence concerning the "dwelling" of God further indicates that DtrH is to be dated to the time after 586. If it is correct to date the first edition of the D-Work to the time of the Exile (cf. above, n. 1), the fully developed Name theology first appears after the devasta-

[80] In a study of great potential significance *Halpern* (VT 31/1981, 20-38, esp. pp. 34-38) has questioned the established interpretation of the formula as aiming at the centralization of the cult.

[81] See *K. Koch* (ZAW 67/1955, 205-226, esp. pp. 215ff.), *Noth* (Ges Stud I, [2]1960: 176f.), *Schreiner* (1963:52-56), *Clements* (1965: 48f.; VT 15/1965, 303 f.) and *Nicholson* (1967: 95ff.).

[82] In Deuteronomy, however, it is used twice in Dtr material, namely in Deut 12:11 and 26:2.

[83] Cf. *Rose* (1975: 92 n. 3).

[84] In the D-Work the verb *yāšab* is used of God mainly in the extant source-materials of an earlier date, thus in the old formula *yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm* (1 Sam 4:4; 2 Sam 6:2; 1 Kgs 19:15), in Solomon's poetic declaration (1 Kgs 8:13), in the description of the vision of Micaiah ben Imlah (1 Kgs 22:19) and otherwise in material that seems to polemicize against old notions, see 2 Sam 7:5-6; 1 Kgs 8:27,30,39,43,49. – The verb *šākan* is used of God in Deut 33:12b,16; 1 Kgs 6:13 (P?) and 1 Kgs 8:12. The noun *miškān* is found in Josh 22:19,29 (P) and in 2 Sam 7:6, on which see *Mettinger* (1976: 52).

tion of the Temple. Accordingly the Name theology may be regarded as a device for resolving the cognitive dissonance which arose when the established tenets of the Zion-Sabaoth theology were confronted with harsh reality.

On the basis of our observations concerning *lešakken šēm*, it would at this time be appropriate to pose the question as to whether we can point to any external cause *prior* to 586 which might have led Israel to declare that the Name – and not the Lord himself – "dwelt" in the sanctuary. Personally, I find it difficult to ignore the probable consequences of the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem in 597 (2 Kgs 24:8-17), since this was the first occasion when the city upon which the promise to Zion had been bestowed became the victim of foreign conquerors. Above all, we are told that the enemy – unlike earlier invaders – were not to be satisfied by plundering the Temple treasury;[85] rather, they penetrated into the House itself and stripped off[86] the gold plate from the consecrated objects donated by Solomon (2 Kgs 24:13). It is conceivable that this ransacking entailed the profanation of the cherubim throne, since it is not mentioned in the lists of plunder ten years later (2 Kgs 25:13-17; Jer 52:17-23). It could thus be that the throne was stripped of its gold plate (cf. 1 Kgs 6:28) already in 597, and thus made uninteresting spoil in 586.[87] Yet we must not forget that Ezekiel still felt free in 592 to speak of the God enthroned in the temple (Ezek Ch. 8–11; see below), a fact which argues against this conclusion.

The indications do not amount to proof, but I consider it highly probable that the events of 597 fueled the development of the notion of the Name in the Temple. After all, we first encounter this conception in secondary passages employing *lĕšakkēn šēm* in Deuteronomy, and, in the years subsequent to 586, it appears fully developed in the

[85] See *Haran* (1978: 284-286).

[86] For this sense of the verb *qāṣaṣ* see 2 Kgs 16:17; 18:16 and 2 Chron 28:24.

[87] Various theories have been formed about the disappearance of the Ark and the cherubim throne:
(1) The invasion of Pharaoh Shoshenk in the tenth century has been thought to have involved the robbing of the Ark and/or the throne, see *Mowinckel* (Acta Orientalia 8/1930, 273) and *Morgenstern* (VT 10/1960, 185). Cf. *Eissfeldt* (Kl. Schr. 5/1973, 85).
(2) The reign of Manasseh is the option of *M. Haran* (1978: 276-288). The cherubim throne is thought to have been removed when Manasseh put his idol in the Temple (2 Kgs 21:3,7).
Against such assumptions one should remeber that:
(a) 2 Chron 35:3 mentions the Ark in connexion with the reign of Josiah.
(b) Jer 3:16f. presuppose that the Ark was in vivid memory during the Exile. This makes it hard to believe that it disappeared already during the reign of Manasseh.
(c) The whole thrust of the D-Work to make an *Auseinandersetzung* with the Zion-Sabaoth theology and to produce a new interpretation of the Ark would be very hard to account for if the Ark and the throne had long ago disappeared from the Temple.

D-Work. If thus our reasoning is mainly correct, the growth of the Name theology is indissolubly connected with the events of 597 and 586.

2. *The Temple and the Name in the Book of Jeremiah*

The question must now be asked as to how well the evidence found in the Book of Jeremiah agrees with this picture, since it is at least thinkable that this work attests a Name theology which antedates 597.

Name and Temple are linked together in Jeremiah in the following passages:

(a) Jer 3:17 proclaims that, "all nations shall gather *lĕšēm YHWH lîrûšālāyim*."

(b) Jer 7:12 describes Shiloh as the place *ʾăšer šikkantî šĕmî šām bārîʾšônâ*, "where I made my name dwell at first."

(c) The formula *niqrāʾ šēm ʿal*... is used of the Temple in Jer 7:10, 11,14,30; 32:34; 34:15; and of the city in Jer 25:29.

The question is whether these passages are evidence of a pre-exilic Name theology; this must be answered on the basis of the critical discussion of the growth of the Book of Jeremiah. It should be noted that all of the passages cited above belong to the prose materials of the book; the literary provenance of these materials is one of the traditionally most disputed subjects in Jeremiah research. A wide range of solutions has been proposed;[88] personally, I assume that these materials were composed in the exilic period, and I suspect traces of Deuteronomizing redaction. It is of lesser importance how we are to describe the circles responsible for this redaction. The language bears certain resemblances

[88] For convenient surveys of the research from Duhm and Mowinckel and onwards, see *Thiel* (1973: 3-31), *H. Weippert* (1973: 1-21) and *Thompson* (1980: 33-50). In recent research especially the following scholars have argued that the book contains post-Jeremianic material from the period of the Exile: *Nicholson* (1970), *Diepold* (1972: 199-209), *Weinfeld* (1972: 6-7), *Thiel* (1973) and *Rose* (1975: 213-263). Cf. also *Thompson* (1980: 49 and *passim*). These have stressed the presence of Deuteronomistic elements. The same general course is taken by *E. Tov* (RB 79/1972, 189-199) in a noteworthy contribution in which he combines text critical observations with points of redactional analysis. He understands the short LXX text as due to a first Deuteronomistic redaction (perhaps undertaken by the man behind the "Jeremiah C" material) and the longer MT as due to a second redactor, belonging as well to the Deuteronomistic school. – The presence of a Deuteronomistic note was questioned by *H. Weippert* (1973) and *Sturdy* (1980: 143-150). Weippert, in her own concluding remarks, says that the tradition found in the prose material "so nahe an Jeremia heranzurücken ist, dass man sie als jeremianische Tradition bezeichen muss" (p. 229). The prose material cannot be regarded as Deuteronomistic or as due to Dtr redaction (pp. 228, 234). On the other hand, Weippert does not conclude that all of the prose material is necessarily from the prophet himself (pp. 233f.). Sturdy is more definite on this point. He regards the prose material in question as post-Jeremianic but not as Deuteronomistic. Instead, he connects it with a circle of Jeremiah's disciples (p. 149). For a discussion with Weippert, see *Rose* (1975: 213-251).

with Deuteronomistic prose, but it also reveals certain peculiarities which may not be ignored. It is in any case impossible *a priori* to describe the prose speeches as *ad hoc* compositions by Deuteronomistic authors; rather, the possibility must be entertained that these passages have crystallized around original sayings or speeches of the prophet.

(a) The phrase concerning the Name of God is missing in the LXX of Jer 3:17, and there are good reasons for regarding the phrase as an addition.[89] Even if this reference to the Name were textually acceptable, the passage could hardly be held to be pre-exilic, since the Ark seems to have vanished; moreover, it is designated *ʾărôn bĕrît YHWH* (v 16), a designation characteristic of the D-Work.[90] Further, if v 18 belongs to this context, then the text presupposes that Judah and Israel are already in exile. The use of *lĕšēm YHWH* in v 17 corresponds to the usage in Isa 18:7 and 60:9, both of which are late.[91] Thus, whether or not 3:17 is Jeremianic, the passage is hardly pre-exilic.[92]

(b) Jer 7:12 belongs to one of the most furiously disputed prose passages. I personally count Jer 7:1-15 as a description of Jeremiah's speech in the Temple at the beginning of Jehoiachim's reign (cf. Jer 26:1) which was subjected to a Deuteronomistically inspired revision during the Exile.[93] It is then interesting to note that the reference to Shiloh in Jeremiah 26 makes no hint to the dwelling of the Name at that site (Jer 26:6,9). The phrase *ʾăšer šikkantî šĕmî šām bāriʾšônâ* in Jer 7:12 will thus have resulted from the revision, which has also left other traces in Jeremiah's Temple speech. The formula is in some way related to the *lĕšakkēn šēm* formula.[94]

(c) There are finally the passages in Jeremiah in which the formula *niqrāʾ šēm ʿal* features. The poetic material show that Jeremiah himself uses this formula of the people (Jer 14:9), and of himself (Jer 15:16). However, none of the passages in which the formula is used of the Temple or the city is among the undisputed materials. The three passages in the Temple speech (Jer 7:10,11,14) have all been ascribed to Dtr redaction.[95] The occurrence at Jer 7:30 (cf. 32:34) figures in a

[89] *J.G. Janzen* (1973: 97, 222f.).

[90] See above Ch. II.A.2.

[91] Cf. *Wildberger* (Jesaja p. 696).

[92] Cf. *Thiel* (1973: 91-93). An attempt to defend the Jeremianic origin was made by *Weinfeld* (ZAW 88/1976, 19-26).

[93] See most recently *Nicholson* (1970: 68-70) and especially *Thiel* (1973: 105-119) and *Rose* (1975: 213-251), who have independently (Rose p. 215 n. 1) arrived at very similar results. Cf. *Weippert* (1973: 26-48), who finds no reason to question the authorship by Jeremiah.

[94] As is also held by *Rose* (1975: 216 n. 2) and even by *Weippert* (BZ 24/1980, 89 n. 34; cf. 1973: 43).

[95] Cf. *Thiel* (1973: 111) and *Rose* (1975: 217, 224f.).

section (7:30–8:3) which has not unreasonably been classified as a Deuteronomistically coloured passage.[96] Similar observations apply to the three attestations which occur outside of Ch. 7.[97]

To sum up the situation: the *niqrā' šēm* formula is used a number of times in reference to the Temple or to Jerusalem. This usage is found in some post-exilic passages and, apart from these, only in the D-Work (and then only once, 1 Kgs 8:43) and in Jeremiah, in the disputed prose materials. This suggests that the special use of *niqrā' šēm 'al* in reference to the Temple first gained currency in late pre-exilic times, or during the Exile itself. It is thus to be understood in the light of the Name theology we have previously discussed.[97a] This late specialization will have been an extension of the ordinary use of the formula to designate the right of ownership (2 Sam 12:28; Isa 4:1; Ps 49:12).[98] The fact that it is God's Name which is proclaimed may in fact subtly imply God's rights of ownership and disposition.[99] Thus when used of the Temple, the formula fulfils the task of expressing the sovereign rights of God; God does not dwell in his Temple, but he both owns and disposes over it.[100]

The question is how this concept is related to the Deuteronomistic Name theology, which asserts that the Name "dwells" in the Temple, and that the latter was built "for the Name of the Lord." Here a passage in the poetic materials in Jeremiah is apropos:

> Must thou be a stranger in the land,
> a traveller pitching his tent for the night? ...
> Thou art in our midst [*bĕqirbēnû*], O Lord,
> and thy name has been called over us;
> do not forsake us. (Jer 14:8-9)[101]

This passage shows that the *niqrā' šēm* formula could be used to describe the presence of God. This may perhaps explain how it was possible for this expression to serve as an alternative to the usual phrases making use of the Name which describe God's relation to his Temple. Thus we find this formula in 1 Kgs 8:43 in a text bearing the earmarks of the Deuteronomistic Name theology.[102]

[96] *Thiel* (1973: 128-134).
[97] On Jer 32:34 see *Rudolph* ([3]1968: 207, 213-215). On Jer 34:15 see *Rudolph* (p. 222); contrast *Weippert* (1973: 86-106), who takes this passage, 34: 8-22, to be authentic. On Jer 25:29 see *Rudolph* (pp. 166f.).
[97a] Cf. *Thiel* (1973: 111).
[98] See *Galling* (TLZ 81/1956, 65-70) and *Boecker* (1964: 165-168).
[99] Cf. Isa 63:19 (note the parallelism with *māšal*, "to rule"), Deut 28:10 (note v 9a) and 2 Chron 7:14.
[100] Cf. *Grether* (1934: 33) and *Weippert* (1973: 39f.).
[101] My own translation.
[102] 1 Kgs 8:41-43 should be compared with Jer 3:17.

It is possible that the *niqrā' šēm* formula is evidence of theological reflection concerning how the connexion between the Name and the Temple came about: via the proclamation by the divine owner of his Name over his property. The nuance underlying this formula may, I feel, be expressed as follows: the usual Deuteronomistic expressions served to resolve the theological conundrum of the presence of God, seen in the light of the disasters of 597 and 586: not God, but his Name was present at the sacred site. The *niqrā*ʾ *šēm* formula, however, emphasizes the fact of God's sovereign ownership of and disposal over his Temple.[102a]

We arrived above at the conclusion that Jeremiah himself probably never used the *niqrā*ʾ *šēm* ʿ*al* formula to describe the relationship of the Lord to the Temple. It is possible to go even further and demonstrate that the prophet speaks of God's presence in language obviously derived from the Zion-Sabaoth theology. We find in Jer 14:21 the prayer, "do not dishonour thy glorious throne"; later on we read,

> A glorious throne set on high from the beginning
> is the place of our sanctuary. (Jer 17:12)

This is to be compared with the expression,

> Is the Lord not in Zion?
> Is her King not in her? (Jer 8:19)

Jeremiah does not contest the presence of God in his Temple sermon (Jer 7:1-15). He does not replace it with a sort of Name theology. The formulations which employ the Name in all probability belong, as we have seen, to the later, Deuteronomistically coloured interpretation of Jeremiah's words. What Jeremiah does is to impose a *condition* on the presence of God: the obedience of the people to God's will (Jer 7:9[103]). The prophet probably announced this critique of the Zion-Sabaoth theology at the Autumn Festival in Tishri in 609 (cf. Jer 26:1),[103a] the festival at which the main feature was the royal presence of the Lord.

Finally, a few words about the use in the Book of Jeremiah of the divine designation *YHWH ṣĕbā*ʾ*ôt* would be appropriate. As we have seen, this designation occurs with astonishing frequency in the MT of

[102a] In his study of God's cultic presence in Jeremiah, *Hentschke* (1957: 62-66) rightly stresses the importance of God's ownership in 12:7,8,10 (p. 64).

[103] Jer 7:9 belongs to the core of the passage, see *Thiel* (1973:114) and *Rose* (1975: 224f., 249). Note the fine point made by the prophet in Jer 7:3 (which belongs to the core, see *Rose* 224f.): "Amend your ways and your doings, and I will let you dwell [*wa*ʾ*ăšakkĕnâ* ʾ*etkem*] in this place." Cf. *Terrien's* fine remark: "The question was no longer whether Yahweh would continue to dwell *(shaken)* in the *hagios topos*, but rather whether he would allow worshippers who are devoid of morality to remain there", *Terrien* (1978: 205).

[103a] See *Auerbach* (VT 10/1960, 70).

Jeremiah (82 times), of which 12 occur in free usage and the rest in formulaic speech.[104] However, the designation occurs only 10 times in the LXX. Naturally, this problem has been much discussed in modern research. F. Baumgärtel concluded that MT was to be preferred on this point.[105] J.G. Janzen's thorough and perspicacious study of the zero variants of the LXX arrives at the opposite conclusion. After an intensive discussion of divine names, Janzen concludes that *ṣĕbā'ôt* is text-critically certain in only 10 passages: 5:14; 15:16; 25:27; 31:35; 32:14; 33:11; 44:7; 50:34; 51:5,57.[106]

I have not arrived at a final position vis à vis the text-critical problem, though it seems to me difficult to argue decisively against Janzen's conclusion.[106a] However, it is interesting to observe that even if we employ this "minimum estimate" of the text-critical problem, we are forced to recognize that Jeremiah in fact utilized the designation *YHWH ṣĕbā'ôt*, since several of Janzen's 10 certain occurrences are in materials which must be held to be authentic.[107]

Our conclusions concerning the materials in Jeremiah are as follows: the divine Name and the Temple are linked together in a number of passages. However, none of these passages can provide evidence for a pre-exilic Name theology in Jeremiah. In positive expressions, the prophet connects his preaching with the Zion tradition and also employs, if rather rarely, the Sabaoth designation. In his great *Auseinandersetzung* with the Zion tradition (Jer 7:1-15) he does not flatly deny the presence of the Lord in his temple, but he makes God's election of Mt. Zion and his promise to dwell there for ever subject to the conditions of the Mosaic covenant (cf. 1 Kgs 6:11-13).[108]

[104] Unlike *Baumgärtel* (1961: 1), I count the four occurrences in address to God among the occurrences of free usage.

[105] *Baumgärtel* (1961: 1-29, esp. pp. 14ff.). Cf. also *Zimmerli* (1969: 1250-1258).

[106] *Janzen* (1973: 75-86, 156-172, esp. p. 80).

[106a] Janzen's conclusions have been accepted by *E. Tov* (RB 79/1972: 188-199).

[107] Jer 5:14; 15:16; 32:14 and possibly also 31:35 (see *Rudolph* ³1968: 188f., 204f.) and 44:7 (see *Rudolph* p. 259). As prof. *Ringgren* has kindly pointed out to me (orally), it is also worthwhile to check the distribution of the Sabaoth designation in relation to the disputed prose material. Defining this material according to the consensus of Mowinckel, Hyatt and Rudolph as comprising Jer 7:1–8:3; 11:1-14(17); 18:1-12; 21:1-10; 22:1-5; 25:1-11a(14); 34:8-22; 35:1-19 (see *Weippert* 1973: 1 n. 3 for this list), we find that
(a) of Janzen's ten occurrences not one is found here.
(b) of all 82 occurrences in the MT only 8 are found here, viz. 7:3,21; 8:3; 11:17; 25:8; 35:13, 18,19.

[108] On Jeremiah's criticism of the Zion theology see particularly *Bright* (1977, esp. Ch. 5 and 6).

D. The Copernican Revolution of the Israelite Cult: From Autumn Festival to Passover

We have seen in our study of the Deuteronomistic Name theology that the enthroned God of the Sabaoth theology was replaced by the notion of the Name in the sanctuary. In the interests of placing the Name Theology in a wider theological context we shall now bring it in connexion with a general development that took place during the Josianic era, and which is a parallel and probably closely related phenomenon.

During the last century before the Exile there was a process at work by means of which the Israelite cult was thoroughly transformed. Deuteronomy 16 promotes the Passover festival to the status of a pilgrimage event; Passover now becomes the most important of the three yearly festivals. The Josianic reform culminates in the celebration of a Passover ceremony (2 Kgs 23:21-23).[1] It is clear after closer examination that the Passover has now achieved the status previously accorded to the Autumn Festival.[2]

1. The Autumn Festival and its Central Motif

1.1. The Autumn Festival and the Lord as King

As we have seen (Ch. 1), the theological centre of the Sabaoth theology lay in its conception of the Lord as King. The researches of above all Mowinckel have demonstrated that the main subject of the Autumn Festival was the kingship of the Lord.[3] During the greater part of the monarchical period, this festival was the most important of the annual religious celebrations.[4] Kapelrud and others have enabled us to see the connexions between the Israelite Autumn Festival and earlier manifestations of Canaanite cultic life.[5]

[1] I do not share *Würthwein's* doubts (ZTK 73/1976, 407-409) about the historicity of the information that such a Passover was celebrated. His argument is closely connected with the assumption that already during the reign of Josiah the year was reckoned from the spring (p. 408). This is hardly valid. See below.

[2] I use the term "Autumn festival" to denote the pre-exilic feast of Booths before its subsequent disintegration into three separate feasts as in Leviticus 23 and Numbers 29. – On this change, moving the emphasis from the Autumn festival to the Passover, see *Mowinckel* (PsStud II: 83-89 and 204-209), *Kapelrud* (1979: 34-36) and *Harrelson* (1968: 91).

[3] *Mowinckel* (PsStud II). For a survey of the most important points put forward in the subsequent discussion see *Ringgren* (1969: 189-200). See also *Clines* (IDBSup 625-629 with further lit.) – I shall not in the following take a stand as to the sense of *YHWH mālak*. On this see, most recently, *Lipiński* (1965: 372-456), *Ulrichsen* (VT 27/1977, 361-374) and *Gray* (1979: 30-38).

[4] See 1 Kgs 8:2.65 and Ezek 45:25 (and cf. Lev 23:39; Num 29:12), where the Autumn festival is called "*the* feast", i.e. the feast *par excellence*.

[5] *Kapelrud* (NorTT 41/1940, 38-58 and *idem* 1953: 98-109). Among recent studies *de Moor's* presentation (1972) should be mentioned.

Already the festival celebrated by Elkanah at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:3) was probably an Autumn Festival (cf. Judg 21:19ff.). The annual sacrifice (*zebaḥ hayyāmîm*, 1 Sam 1:21; 2:19)[6] was offered here, and it is hardly surprising that the Lord appears at Shiloh as King and is further designated *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt* (1 Sam 1:3,11; 4:4).[7]

Later in Jerusalem, the Temple serves from the time of its consecration as the palace of the divine King (see above, Ch. 1.1–2); it is not without significance that the Temple was consecrated in connexion with an Autumn Festival (1 Kgs 8:2,65; cf. Ezek 40:1ff.).[8] Even scholars who are otherwise sceptical of Mowinckel's theories are inclined to admit that the Autumn Festival is the most likely *Sitz im Leben* of a number of psalms which have the kingship of God as their theme. These include above all Pss 24, 29,[9] 47, and 93-99,[10] but also such psalms as 46, 48, and 76 should be counted here. It is likewise impossible to ignore the connexion established by Zech 14:16-19 between the Autumn Festival and the idea of the Lord as King. This connexion is also manifest in post-exilic Judaism, in which the kingship of the Lord is the centrepiece of the Jewish New Year, Rosh Hashanah.[11] There is also some question whether the connexion between the Autumn Festival and the kingship of the Lord is not also attested by the weekday psalms of the post-exilic Temple liturgy,[12] since it is at least a reasonable supposition that the series of psalms for the various days of the week may be traced back to the pre-exilic Autumn Festival, whose celebration took a whole week.[13]. According to the Mishnah (*Tamid* 7:4), the first to seventh

[6] See *KAI* no 26 (Karatepe) A II 19 – III 2 and C IV 3-5. Note the sequence *zbḥ ymm* – *ʿt ḥrš* (Oct/Nov) – *ʿt qṣr* (Apr/June). Cf. *de Moor* (1972 part one pp. 10 and 12), who understands *zbḥ ymm* in Karatepe and 1 Samuel as referring to the Autumn festival. Contrast *Haran* (VT 19/1969, 11-22), who regards the cases in 1 Samuel 1:21 and 2:19 as a family or clan feast (cf. 1 Sam 20:6, 28f.). Cf. also *Haran's* additional note (*ibid.* pp. 372f.).

[7] See *Mettinger* (Sabaoth).

[8] Note also the use of Ps 96 in 1 Chron 16:23-33.

[9] Note the title in the LXX connecting Ps 29 with the feast of Booths. Cf. also *Kraus* (²1961: 235).

[10] See *Kraus* (²1961: 647f., 671f.). Note also that the title of Ps 93 in the LXX connects the Psalm with the day before the sabbath, and see below on the psalms of the different days of the Jewish week.

[11] On this feast see *Elbogen* (1967: 140-149), who underlines the role played by the motif of the kingship of God. Note the reading of the Sovereignty verses (*malkiyyôt*), mentioned in *m. Roš. Haš.* 4:5. These verses are not specified in the Mishnah or the Talmud. For a list of passages later used in this context see *Fiebig* (1914: 51f.); Num 23:21; Deut 33:5; Ps 22:29; 93:1; 24:7-10; Isa 44:6; Obad v 21; Zech 14:9. Note also the use of Ps 29 and 47 in the context of the Jewish New Year, see *Fiebig* (1914: 62) and *Elbogen* (1967: 147).

[12] This was pointed out to me by Dr *Henry Plantin*, Lund.

[13] Deut 16:13,15. Note that in Neh 8:2,18 the feast is celebrated on the old date of Tishri 1-7. The arrangement known from the calendars in Leviticus 23 and Numbers 29 is not followed here. – On the week of the Autumn festival cf. *Stolz* (Wort u. Dienst 11/1971, 159-175) and see below.

weekday psalms were ordered by rota: Pss 24, 48, 82, 94, 81, 93, 92. It is not hard to see that the concept of the Lord as king plays a leading part in virtually all of these psalms (excepted are Pss 81 and 92).

1.2. The Autumn Festival and the Battle Motif

The Autumn Festival, which had deep roots in the conceptual world of Canaan, and which presumably was also related to the Mesopotamian Akitu Festival, will probably have given concrete form to the idea of God's battle with the powers of Chaos.[14] The importance of the battle motif in the Jerusalem cultic tradition during the monarchy can best be explained by the assumption that this motif was once associated with the pre-exilic Autumn Festival. Thus we find a connexion between the kingship of the Lord and his victory attested by a number of psalms, and not only in such relatively late texts as Pss 74:12-17 and 89:6-19, but also in the ancient Ps 29:

יהוה למבול ישב   וישב יהוה מלך לעולם ·

The Lord sits enthroned over the flood;[15]
the Lord sits enthroned as king for ever. (Ps 29:10)

It should be mentioned parenthetically that this passage has striking parallels in Mesopotamian texts which describe Marduk as sitting upon Tiamat in the Akitu house.[16] The battle motif may well also underlie the image of water which has been pacified into ice *(qeraḥ)*[17] beneath the throne in Ezekiel 1:22 (cf. Rev 15:2; 21:1). Also in the so-called "Enthronement Psalms" do we meet the rebellious waters (Ps 93:3-4), which are cowed and forced to participate in the acclamation of the Lord as king (Ps 98:7-8). The use of the battle motif in the Jerusalem tradition also helps to explain its occurrence in texts dealing with the Day of the

[14] The cultic role of the battle motif has been stressed by e.g. *de Moor* (1971: 55-62 and *passim*), using the Ugaritic materials. *Pallis* (1926: 249-306) and *Lambert* (Iraq 25/1963, 189-190) have dealt with the Mesopotamian materials; and a good number of scholars belonging to the Myth and Ritual School and the Uppsala circle, have discussed the Old Testament evidence. *Lambert* (JTS 16/1965, 295) stresses that in Mesopotamia the cultic role of the motif applies only to "Babylon in the time of the Late Babylonian empire, not to any other Akitu house of any other city". – For general discussions of the battle motif see *Gunkel* ([2]1921), *Kaiser* (1959) and *Norin* (1977 esp. 42-76).

[15] For *yāšab lĕ* ... used in the sense of "to sit *on* ..." see Isa 3:26; 47:1; Ps 9:5; Job 2:13 and Lam 2:10. Cf. *Tsevat* (1955: 15.31.50.53.139 and *idem* HUCA 29/1958, 131-133). Tsevat argues that that strain of Hebrew, which bears the deepest imprint of Canaanite, expresses "to sit on a chair" by *yāšab lĕkissēʾ*, while the rest of Biblical Hebrew has *yāšab ʿal kissēʾ*.

[16] See *Lambert* (Iraq 25/1963, 189f.). Lambert writes: "The Sea (Tiamat) was no doubt a small cultic structure in the Akītu house (probably a dais) and when the statue of Marduk was taken there, it was set on the dais to symbolize victory over Tiamat" (p. 190).

[17] See BDB (901b) and *Keel* (1977: 254).

Lord, of which good examples are the clear references in the Apocalypse of Isaiah (Isa 24:21-23; 25:8; 27:1).[18]

The battle motif is found in both Canaan and Mesopotamia, although it exhibits considerable local variation.[19] In spite of these variations, it is possible to point to a common thought structure comprised of the battle of the god, his victory, and the temple. This structure is attested in Ugarit and in Mesopotamia.[20]

The OT materials are delicate, but a number of signs suggest that the thought structure in question also played a role in the Jerusalem tradition. Ps 24 shows us the victorious King who enters into his Temple; v 2 hints that the battle he has just come from was the struggle with the Chaos monster. The sequence of battle, kingship, and Temple seems also to be present in Exod 15:1-18.

The battle of the New Year festival was in Mesopotamia associated with the creation of the world. The question as to whether the Ugaritic battle motif also has cosmological implications is quite controversial,[21] and the usual assumption that certain OT representations of the Chaos battle are associated with the idea of Creation has been strongly criticized.[22] But whether or not the battle motif functioned from the beginning in Israel as a cosmological motif,[23] to me at least it is clear that certain

[18] On the Autumn festival and the day of the Lord see now *Gray* (SEÅ 39/1974, 5-37).

[19] The similarities between the Baal texts and Enuma Elish were stressed by *Kapelrud* (NorTT 61/1960, 241-251). *Th. Jacobsen* (JAOS 88/1968, 104-108) argues for a common West Semitic origin of the forms of the battle myth in Mesopotamia and Canaan. Note also that the battle motif is lacking in the Sumerian accounts of creation. As was pointed out by *Ringgren* (TWAT III: 652), this may point in the same direction.

[20] As for Mesopotamia, see Enuma Elish I 60-77 and VI 57-72. Transl. by *Speiser* in ANET[3] (1969: 61, 68f.). As for Ugarit, note that the Ugaritic text dealing with the building of a house for Baal (*UT* no 51 = *CTA* 4 = *KTU* 1.4) is usually placed after the texts dealing with Baal's battle against YAM (*UT* no 137 = *CTA* 2 I = *KTU* 1.2 I *and UT* no 68 = *CTA* 2 IV = *KTU* 1.2 IV). On this pattern including battle, kingship and palace (temple) see e.g. *Fisher* (VT 15/1965, 313-324), *P.D. Hanson* (JBL 92/1973, 37-59, esp. 53ff.), *Cross* (1973: 147-163), and *Clifford* (1979: 137-145). A work that I have not had access to is that by *Ulshoefer* (see Elenchus 58-59/1977-78, p. 265.

[21] *Fisher* (VT 15/1965, 313-324) assumes such a connexion. *Kapelrud* is now critical of this (ST 34/1980, 1-11).

[22] See *McCarthy* (CBQ 29/1967, 393-406), *Vosberg* (1975: 46-50 cf. 39-41) and *Saggs* (1978: 52-63). – In my opinion, Vosberg lays too heavy emphasis on the function of the nominal clauses in Ps 74:16 and 89:12 as dividers between battle (in the preceding verses) and creation (in the following). Cf. Ps 24:1-2 which show a connexion between the Lord's ownership and his founding the earth on the waters. For a discussion with Saggs see *Ringgren* (Fz Cazelles, forthcoming). *Vosberg* (p. 47f.) and *Saggs* (p. 55) argue that certain descriptions of the battle (e.g. Ps 74:14b) presuppose the world as already existing before the fight. It is doubtful whether such a view does justice to mythic thinking, see *Stolz* (1970: 39,64).

[23] In any case I am not prepared to accept the idea of *Gray* (TGUOS 14/1950-52, 47-57, esp. p. 55) and *Norin* (1977) that the earliest use of the battle motif among the Israelite tribes was to express God's saving act at the Sea in connection with the exodus from Egypt. See my review of Norin (SEÅ 43/1978: 87-97; cf. below note 51).

of these texts convey the idea of Creation through conflict. I would mention in this connexion Pss 74:12-17 and 89:10-13. The question is whether Ps 24 should not also be interpreted along these lines: the battle from which the divine warrior has just emerged (vv 7-10) appears to be the battle by which Chaos becomes Cosmos (v 2).[23a]

As we saw above, there is reason to connect the Jewish series of weekday psalms which feature the motif of the Lord as king with the week of the pre-exilic Autumn Festival. The Mishnah also informs us that the local *ma'ămādôt* came together to their own cities to read the story of Creation in the course of one week (*m. Ta'an* 4:2-3).[24] The reading of a special psalm and of a particular section of Gen 1 each day emphasizes the conceptions of the Lord as king and of the days of the week of Creation.[24a] It may well be the case that the week of the pre-exilic Autumn Festival forms the background for this week in the Jewish liturgy.

Now, it would be a mistake to believe that Genesis 1 in its present form constitutes the cultic *muthos* of the Autumn Festival. If the kingship of God and his victory over Chaos played any part in the Autumn Festival, and further, if the concept of Creation was of significance in this connexion, then it would be highly likely that the pre-exilic Autumn Festival had to do with Creation through conflict. But Gen 1 itself came into being *after* the great transformation of the cultic scene; the battle motif has been consciously forced into the background, possibly because the text was composed at a time and under circumstances in which it was thought necessary to suppress such well known Babylonian conceptions.[25] Nonetheless, with its implicit criticism of the battle motif, Genesis 1 bears witness to the role which the idea of Creation through conflict once played in the conceptual realm of the Autumn Festival.[26] By suppressing the battle motif of the Israelite

[23a] In Ps 104:5-9 note, however, the sequence: God founds the earth, covers it with the deeps, and rebukes the waters (thus creation, chaos, conflict, cf. Prov 8:22-31 and Gen 1:1-2). We are here confronted with the process of de-mythologizing myth. Cf. Gen 1:21 and Ps 104:26.

[24] Cf. *Elbogen* (1967: 237,553) and *Stähli* (Wort u. Dienst 10/1969, 121-129).

[24a] The psalm was read in the temple and the portion of Genesis 1 in the local communities.

[25] Cf. most recently *Kapelrud* (ZAW 91/1979, 163).

[26] See esp. *Ringgren* (SEÅ 13/1948, 9-21). We only find reminiscences of the battle motif. Note God's mighty word, controlling the darkness and the waters. Note the fact that Gen 1:9 no longer speaks of bounds for the waters (contrast Jer 5:22; Ps 104:9; Prov 8:27-29; Job 26:10; 38:8-11). And note that the *tanninim* of Gen 1:21 are created beings. Thus the connexion between Genesis 1 and the New Year's festival was less direct than was believed by *Humbert* (1958: 60-82). – In this connexion I must call attention to the possibility of a connexion between the idea of God's creative word and the idea of God's rebuking (*gᵉ'ar/gᵉ'ārā*) the Sea in the battle texts. Note Ps 18:16 and 104:5-9 as possible indications of such a connexion, which would not, of course, preclude the idea of God's creative word also having other roots. Cf. *Ahlström* (1971: 74 note 3).

Autumn Festival, Genesis 1 also indirectly suppresses its Babylonian counterparts.[27]

To summarize briefly: the pre-exilic Autumn Festival, which lasted one week (Deut 16:13,15), probably from the first to the seventh of Tishri,[28] was a celebration characterized by the notions of the kingship of God, his victory over Chaos, and the subsequent Creation of the world.

2. *The Transformation and its Theological Implications*

2.1. *Passover and the Spring Calendar*

In the festival calendar in Deuteronomy 16, the Passover figures for the first time as a pilgrimage festival,[28a] complete with *maṣṣôt*. In its historicizing connexion with the Exodus, Passover emerges as the most highly esteemed festival of the year. The celebration of a Passover festival is the culmination of Josiah's Reform (2 Kgs 23:21-23).

In view of the fact that scholars have yet to reach consensus in the intensive discussion of Josiah's Reform and its relationship to the original Deuteronomy,[29] we shall here stick to the traditional understanding of these materials.[30] Thus we conclude that the Passover had achieved a position rivalling that of the Autumn Festival already in late pre-exilic times; alternatively, this may first have occurred during the Exile.

Besides, either shortly before or during the Exile, Judah abandoned the old Autumn calendar in favour of the Babylonian Spring calendar. This transition is presupposed by the law of the Passover in Exod 12:2, where the Passover is assigned to "the first month of the year". The

[27] It is highly probable that Mesopotamian ideas influenced the Israelite Autumn Festival, e.g. during the reigns of Ahaz and Manasseh. – Note the weeping of the High Priest and his exculpatory oath on the Day of Atonement in *Tosepta Yoma* 1:8, and see *G. Larsson* (1980: 68, cf. 82). Larsson points to the similarity to the negative confession and the humiliation of the king in the Babylonian Akitu festival. – In post-exilic Judaism the royal ointment and insignia are transferred to the High Priest. Note the ointment and insignia of Aaron, Exod 28:15ff., 36ff.: 30:30 and see *Mettinger* (1976: 287f.). Therefore, if we find close similarities between the role of the king in the Babylonian Akitu festival and that of the priest on the Jewish Day of Atonement, the intermediary is probably to be found in the role of the king in the pre-exilic Israelite Autumn festival.

[28] See above note 13.

[28a] What we find in Exod 34:25b is a Dtr accretion. Cf. below at note 43.

[29] See *Würthwein* (ZTK 73/1976, 395-423), *Mayes* (1979: 85-103) and *Hoffmann* (1980: 169-270). – Less radical are *W. Dietrich* (VT 27/1977, 13-35) and *Rose* (ZAW 89/1977, 50-63).

[30] That is, the finding of a law book, more or less closely related to the original Deuteronomy, goes before the reform, and the reform culminates in the central celebration of a Passover.

Spring year seems also to be presupposed in Jer 36:22; 52:12 (= 2 Kgs 25:8); and Zech 7:3,5, to mention only a few examples.[30a]

The date of this calendrical reform has not yet been determined with certainty. The two most likely dates are (a) during the reign of Jehoiachim, that is, probably in 604 when the king became a Babylonian vassal (2 Kgs 24:1);[31] or (b) during the Exile itself.[32] The event would seem to be an example of the principle of *cuius regio eius calendarium*. But irrespective of when this transition took place, we should recognize that the Spring year must have contributed to emphasize the status of the Passover as the most distinguished festival.

Not only did the Autumn Festival give way to the Passover celebration, the old unified Autumn event disintegrated into three separate festivals in the month of Tishri.[33] While the oldest sources, including Deuteronomy, speak of one Autumn Festival of one week,[34] later sources refer to three distinct festivals, namely *yôm tĕrûʿâ* on the first of Tishri, the Day of Atonement on the tenth, and Tabernacles, which ran from the fifteenth to the twenty-second of Tishri.[35] This development is a continuation of the process which elevated the Passover at the expense of the Autumn Festival.[36]

Kapelrud has very sensibly put the question as to why the liturgical centre of gravity shifted in this manner in Israel.[37] His question leads us to offer two observations:

(a) The reign of Josiah was characterized by reaction against foreign cults. Thus the Autumn Festival with its obvious parallels in foreign institutions (not least the Akitu festival) became highly suspect. The Passover, however, was recognized as a genuinely Israelite festival. It is accordingly probable that Josiah and his High Priest consciously

[30a] See *de Vaux* (1965: 191).
[31] Thus *Auerbach* (VT 9/1959, 113-121; 10/1960, 69f.) and *de Vaux* (1965, 190-193).
[32] Thus *Malamat* (IEJ 18/1968, 137-155, esp. 144-150). On the reform of the calendar see also *Clines* (IDBSup 625-629) and *M. Weippert* (BRL² 165-168).
[33] See *Mowinckel* (PsStud II: 83-89).
[34] See Deut 16:13,15; cf. Exod 23:16; 34:22. Note also Neh 8:2,18.
[35] Lev 23:23-44; Numbers 29.
[36] Two psalms seem to stand in the middle of this development. In Ps 80 we find God enthroned upon the cherubim in v 2 (cf. vv 5,8,15,20). At the same time, we find a number of allusions to Dt/Dtr theology: v 6 (the bread of tears, cf. Deut 16:3), v 9 (exodus) and v 12 (the Euphratic Israel known from Deut 1:7; 11:24; Jos 1:4; cf. *Diepold* 1972: 57ff.). With *Norin* (1977: 138-142) I find it correct to date this psalm to the end of the seventh century. – In Ps 81, v 4 contains an allusion to the Autumn festival (see *Mowinckel*, PsStud II: 86f.). On the other hand we find Dt/Dtr features in vv 9-11 (cf. Deut 6:4 and 5:6-10), v 17 (cf. Deut 32:13) and v 6 (the form *yĕhôsēp*, see *Norin* VT 29/1979, 87-97). *Norin* (1977: 142-145) dates this psalm to the seventh century, which seems convincing.
[37] *Kapelrud* (1979: 34-36, orig. publ. in 1965).

emphasized the Passover and suppressed the Autumn Festival with its manifest similarities to the Assyro-Babylonian cult.[38]

(b) It is also probable that the Exile contributed to this process. The Autumn Festival emphasized the kingship of the Lord and the function of the Temple as his royal abode; these aspects presuppose the existence of the Jerusalem Temple. However, with the destruction of Jerusalem, the Temple, Ark, and cherubim throne disappeared; the material basis of the Autumn Festival was eliminated by the disaster of the Exile.[39]

2.2. The Theological Implications

On the level of theological ideas the transition under discussion can be described in simple terms with the cliché, "from myth to salvation history."[40] The Exodus tradition and the celebration of the Exodus will scarcely have played any significant role in Judah before late pre-exilic times.[41] However, the process that brought Passover to the fore led to the "historicizing" of this festival;[42] thus a festival with obvious historical associations took on the status previously accorded to the Autumn Festival with its mythically coloured motifs. The historicizing of the Passover and its attachment to the Exodus tradition is apparent in Deut 16:1,3,6; it was also edited into more ancient regulations concerning the Massoth (Exod 23:15; 34:18).[43]

Thus the most distinguished cult festival no longer mediated a sacramental[44] experience of the theophanic coming and victory of the Lord, as was the case in the Autumn Festival; rather, the cult rites became acts of "remembrance" (Deut 16:1-8).[45] Parallel to this is the fact that the Sabbath became historicized into a reminder of the Exodus (Deut 5:15). The brief historical credo (Deut 26:5-9, etc.) emerged to give poignant expression to this accent on salvation history.[46] Similarly, the emphasis was laid on covenant and law in Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic literature.[47]

[38] Thus *Kapelrud* (1979: 34-36). Cf. *Fretheim* (CBQ 30/1968, 13).
[39] Thus *Mowinckel* (PsStud II: 206).
[40] While using this formulation I am well aware of the cautions voiced by *Cross* (1973: 82f., 87). On the process of historicizing see *Weiser* (1931: 22-43) and *Noth* (Ges Stud II, 1969: 29-47). On the general theme of cult and history cf. *G.E. Wright* (Int 16/1962, 3-20).
[41] See *von Rad* (Theologie I ⁴1962: 350f.; II ³1962: 203).
[42] See *Wellhausen* (1961: 92, 102) and cf. *von Rad* (Theologie II ³1962: 117ff.). – I do not agree with *R. Schmitt* (1975: 47-54) about an early, pre-Deuteronomic historicization of the Passover. On Exod 12:21-23,27b in this connexion see *Norin* (1977:175f.).
[43] See *Mowinckel* (PsStud II: 204f.) and *Norin* (1977: 182-184).
[44] On this term, cf. *Gray* (1979: 1 n. 3).
[45] Cf. *Clements* (1978: 71). Note also *Steingrimsson* (SEÅ 44/1979, 68-73).
[46] See *Rost* (1965: 11-25) and *Carmichael* (VT 19/1969, 273-289). Cf. also *Durham* (IDBSup 197-199 with further lit.).
[47] For references see *Mettinger* (1976: 304).

This historicizing tendency also affected the use of the motif of the Chaos battle, which began to be used to describe how God had intervened during the Exodus by leading Israel to safety through the Sea of Reeds.[48] This new application of the motif is well attested in several poetic texts.[49]

The Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1-18) is also significant in this connexion; here we have ancient traditional materials in a relatively late literary context. In its present form this hymn should be understood in the light of the Josianic era, which strongly stressed the Passover and the Exodus.[50] The Song of the Sea utilizes the battle motif.[51] Recognition of two facts is essential to an understanding of this hymn: (a) It presupposes the Zion-Sabaoth theology, as we can judge from *mākôn lěšibtěkā* in v 17 (cf. 1 Kgs 8:13), and from v 18, which acknowledges the Lord as king.[52] (b) The battle motif does not appear here in its original mythopoetic form; rather, it has been transformed into the motif of the battle with the nations, a process of transformation which we otherwise find within the framework of the Zion-Sabaoth theology (Pss 46; 48; 76; Isa 17:12-14).[53] However, unlike the hymns of Zion, Exod 15:1-18 refers to specific enemies: God's battle is waged against the Egyptians. As a corollary to this, we discover that the waters no longer represent the powers of Chaos, but are instead God's obedient tools.

These historicizing and demythologizing tendencies are also evident in the use of the royal predication of God;[54] this usage was originally a loan from the Canaanites, and it probably underwent historization during or even before the reign of Josiah: God is revealed as the king of Israel, and his kingship is dated from the Exodus event.[55] This aspect of the divinity took on extra significance shortly before and during the

[48] While noting this development *McCarthy* (CBQ 29/1967, 393-406) and others date it much too early. See also *Norin* (1977) and see n. 23 above. On the reinterpretation of the chaos symbolism in the OT see also *B.W. Anderson* (1967), a work which deserves close attention in future discussions of Old Testament theology.

[49] E.g. Ps 77:17-21; 106:9; 114:3,5; Isa 51:9-11.

[50] See *Tournay* (RB 65/1958, 335-357, esp. p. 340, 357) and *Norin* (1977: 77-107). Norin supposes a very ancient literary kernel, subjected to redactional expansion in the time of Josiah. This assumption of an original *Urmeereslied* is not unproblematic.

[51] This was stressed by, among others, *Norin* (1977:77-107) and *Ringgren* (Fs Cazelles, forthcoming). I am now prepared to admit that the battle motif is present in Exod 15:1-18 (contrast SEÅ 43/1978, 92 f.), but note my points below.

[52] The royal predication of God was certainly important already in pre-monarchic times, see *Mettinger* (Sabaoth note 87), but I cannot consider Exod 15:18 as one of the early cases.

[53] *Stolz* (1970: 72-85) tried to understand the motif of the Völkerkampf as a pre-Israelite development. However, see the criticism voiced by *Roberts* (JBL 92/1973, 337f.).

[54] See *W.H. Schmidt* (1961: 72-76).

[55] Cf. Num 23:21f.; Judg 8:23 (on this see now *Crüsemann* 1978: 42-54); Micah 2:13; 4:7.

Exile. On this point passages such as 1 Sam 8:7-8 and 12:12[56] (cf. Deut 33:5) deserve our particular attention, but Exod 15:18, Ezek 20:32-40 (esp. vv 33-34), and Ps 114:1-2 should also be mentioned.[57]

To this picture we should add the fact that Creation no longer concerns only the Cosmos in general; the idea has been modified to account for the existence of Israel as a people.[58] Here the expression *ʿam zû qānîtā* in Exod 15:16 comes to mind; the formally similar expression which uses *gāʾal* in v 13 *(ʿam zû gāʾaltā)* suggests that v 16 should be rendered, "the people whom thou hast purchased" (cf. Ps 74:2, with *qānâ* and *gāʾal* in parallelism). On the other hand, we do happen to know that *qānâ* sometimes connotes creation or procreation.[59] Now, Isa 43:21 *(ʿam zû yāṣartî lî)* occurs in a context which alludes to the Song of the Sea and thus implies that *ʿam zû qānîtā* in Exod 15:16 was read as a statement about the constitution of Israel as a people. It is patent that this concept received added significance during the Exile, as is indicated by Ps 102:19 and a number of passages i Isaiah 40–55.[60]

The era of Josiah and the subsequent Exile entailed four important consequences on the theological plane:

1. The centre of gravity of the liturgical year became the Passover meal, that is, a festival which had obvious historical reference thanks to its new connexion with the Exodus.
2. The Chaos battle, which originally depicted a primeval conflict, began to be used to describe God's salvific intervention during the Exodus.
3. The royal predication of the Lord began to be used to characterize God as having been king over Israel since the Exodus.
4. The concept of Creation was further developed to account for the constitution of Israel as a people.

Two main lines can easily be discerned in the study of the Israelite cult. On one side, we have scholars who assign centrality to the celebration of the Lord as King and Creator (esp. Mowinckel); on the other we have those who insist on a dramatic re-enactment of the events of Exodus and Conquest (esp. von Rad and Weiser).[61] If we confine our

[56] For the possibility of pre-Dtr tradition in 1 Sam 12:12 see *Mettinger* (1976: 82f.). – The growing importance of the idea of God as king of Israel has been noted by *W. Dietrich* (ZTK 77/1980, 263-265).

[57] Note also Zeph 3:15; Isa 33:22; 41:21; 43:15; 44:6.

[58] Cf. *McCarthy* (CBQ 29/1967, 399-400), who dates this development much too early.

[59] Gen 4:1; 14:19,22; Ps 139:13; Prov 8:22 (cf. v 24f.). It is used about God's bringing Israel forth in Deut 32:6.

[60] Isa 43:1,7,15,21; 44:2,21,24; 45:11.

[61] For surveys with ample references to the literature see *Kraus* (1966: 1-25) and *Cross* (1973: 79-90). Note also *Ringgren's* judicious discussion of the Autumn festival (1969: 189-200).

analysis to the Jerusalem cult during the monarchy, then we shall discover a fair degree of justification for both views; however, taken by itself neither viewpoint offers us a picture which does justice to the dynamics of historical reality.

To put it another way, those scholars who emphasize *Heilsgeschichte* and covenant have not paid sufficient attention to the profound transformation the cult was subjected to shortly before and during the Exile. Naturally, we cannot discount the possibility that the Jerusalem cult contained some salvation-historical motifs at an early date, but broadly speaking these motifs seem first to have come into their own during the era of Josiah.

The views adumbrated in these pages are profoundly relevant to the study of OT theology, and it is high time the salvation-historical perspective so successfully propounded by von Rad, and which has dominated research in recent decades, was complemented by conclusions arising from the study of Hebrew psalmody and wisdom. It seems to me that von Rad carried out his theological enterprise while being all too enthralled by the spell of Deuteronomistic theology. Admittedly, the Deuteronomistic programme was a magnificent attempt to compose a normative theology, but, as is well known, the Deuteronomistic circle of tradition was not the only one in ancient Israel. Moreover, the fact that their success was only partial is evident in the fact of the resurgence of mythopoetic language in exilic psalms and apocalyptic.

We are now ready to offer a more comprehensive perspective, in which the well-known but bewildering jig-saw pieces of information offered by our texts begin to form a new and meaningful pattern. The Deuteronomistic Name theology was an element in a theological evolution which may be characterized as a Copernican revolution in the Judaean cult in the time around the Exile. Our observations may be schematically summarized as follows:

	the Sabaoth theology	**Dtr theology**
main festival:	Autumn Festival	Passover
central idea of the Festival	God manifests his kingship through victory	God's saving act at the Exodus
battle motif	primeval conflict	battle motif applied to the Exodus
Creation	primeval and cosmic	Israel constituted as a people at the Exodus
God and Temple	*YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt* enthroned above the cherubim	*Šēm* in the Temple, God himself in heaven

Summary

In summarizing the results of the preceding investigation of the Name theology, it should be frankly admitted that there are two important points where uncertainty remains: (a) We do not know with certainty whether the first edition of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work dates from before or during the Exile (see above, n. 1). For my part, I am inclined to prefer the later date, but if a pre-exilic date is nevertheless to be considered, then the period after 597 is the most likely. (b) We have not succeeded in assigning the various Name formulas in Deuteronomy with complete certainty to the original Deuteronomy and its later accretions, but while it is obvious that a number of these occurrences belong to the later materials, it is difficult to demonstrate that any of the Name formulas was already present in the original law code. Bearing these reservations in mind, the results of this study suggest the following conclusions:

(1) We find the short centralization formula without the Name element in the original Deuteronomy. At this date there was no Name theology as such.

(2) The centralization formula was supplied with the *lĕšakkēn šēm* addition already prior to the composition of the D-Work: "the place which the Lord your God will choose, to make his name dwell there." Semantically, this formula has to do with the "dwelling" of the Name at the holy place. Other interpretations are to be rejected. It seems clear that this formula must have become current in a situation when the sanctuary was still "habitable", but when external circumstances demanded a different understanding of the presence of God than that which we encounter in the Sabaoth theology. Such a situation was present in the years following 597.

(3) We find in the D-Work a full-blown Name theology, which can be seen in its theological context as a break with the Sabaoth theology. Explicit formulations relocate God to heaven. However, presence of his Name at the cultic site is the *conditio sine qua non* for Israel to invoke her God in prayer.

(4) Occurrences of formulas linking the Name with the Temple in Jeremiah are all to be assigned to exilic materials. The formula *niqrāʾ šēm ʿal* ..., which is common in Jeremiah, is to be understood in the light of the Deuteronomistic Name theology.

(5) The events which stripped the Temple in 597 and destroyed it in 586 appear to have played an important part in the development of a new interpretation of God's presence in the sanctuary; this new view is expressed in the various Name formulas.

Both the early *lěšakkēn šēm* formula and its later corollaries may be understood in conjunction with the development of the Name theology as having arisen from the cognitive dissonance which was produced by the confrontation between the ancient theology of the Presence with the facts of the plundering and destruction of the Temple. Such a situation is usually handled in one of two ways: either the dissonance is resolved by means of programmes involving techniques of avoidance, or else techniques of explanation are resorted to. As a consciously evolved theological product, the Name theology represents one of the latter procedures.

(6) On the other hand, we must be careful not to overemphasize the significance of Israel's disasters; the Name theology is indeed a radical theological creation, yet it has lines of continuity stretching into the past. As a break with the conception of the God enthroned in the Temple, the Name theology runs parallel to the cultic policy of the Josianic era, which among other things brought about a shift of emphasis in the liturgical year from the Autumn Festival to the Passover. It is imperative to pay due attention to this development in order to get a proper grasp of fundamental problems in Israelite religion and Old Testament theology. Further on the question of continuity, see below, Ch. IV.

(7) Seen in the light of these observations, the low frequency of the Sabaoth designation in the D-Work is intelligible; when the idea of the God enthroned in the Temple is eliminated, *YHWH ṣěbā'ôt*, too, is relegated to theological oblivion.

Addition to the proofs: Note the penetrating study by *F.K. Kumaki*, The Deuteronomistic theology of the temple, Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute 7/1981, 16–52.

CHAPTER III

The Kabod Theology

A. The Kabod Theology in Priestly Pentateuchal Tradition

The most distinguished of the divine epithets used by the Zion-Sabaoth theology was *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt (yōšēb hakkĕrūbîm)*: its place in the sanctuary was taken over in Deuteronomistic theology by God's *šēm*. Around the time of the Exile we also encounter the Priestly stream of tradition, which is detectable in the P-materials of the Pentateuch and in Ezekiel. In these two literary corpuses the Sabaoth designation is conspicuous in its absence. Its place in the theological conceptual structure has been taken by *kābôd*, the "Glory" of the Lord. The problem accordingly arises as to what concepts concerning the presence of God in the sanctuary were attached to *kābôd* in Priestly tradition. Here it will be appropriate to treat Ezekiel and the Pentateuchal materials as separate entities. We shall deal with the latter first.

The Biblical Materials

In agreement with Rendtorff[1] we would single out two groups of relevant passages:

(1) *kābôd* in conjunction with crises during Israel's wandering in the desert:

Exod 16:7,10	manna; note the "murmuring" in vv 2,7,8,9.
Num 14:10(21,22)	the spies; note murmuring in v 2, revolt, v 10.
Num 16:19	Korah; note the revolt situation, murmuring, v 11.
Num 17:7	(RSV 16:42) after Korah's death; murmuring, v 6.
Num 20:6	waters of Meribah, the people's controversy with Moses, v 3.

(2) *kābôd* in conjuction with Sinai and the cult:

Exod 24:16,17	*kābôd* settles on Sinai.
Exod 29:43	*kābôd* will sanctify the Tabernacle.
Exod 40:34,35	*kābôd* fills the sanctuary.
Lev 9:6,23	Aaron's first sacrifice.

[1] *Rendtorff* (KD Beih 1/[2]1963, 30). Cf. *Westermann* (Fs Eichrodt, 1970: 230-245).

If we ignore Exod 16 and 24, in which the Tabernacle does not yet exist, the P-materials invariably relate *kābôd* to the sanctuary. The latter is usually described as *ʾōhel môʿēd* (though in Exod 40:34f. it is termed *miškān*). Interestingly, in the P-materials *kābôd* is never expressly connected with *kappōret*, the "mercy seat".

The Theology of the Priestly Tabernacle: Two Important Roots.

Any attempt to interpret the conceptions of the presence of God which are expressed in the texts dealing with the Priestly Tabernacle must be founded on a traditio-historical analysis of the various layers of material. The Priestly materials display the ambiguous characteristics of a photographic double exposure; in them we find influences from both an ancient pre-monarchical Tent tradition and from the Temple theology of the Jerusalem tradition. The old pre-monarchical tradition of the Tent of Meeting (*ʾōhel môʿēd*) is primarily represented by three texts:[2]

Exod 33:7-11: the pillar of cloud descends to speak with Moses at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting, which is located outside the camp.

Num 11:14-17,24-30: The Lord descends in the pillar of cloud to the Tent and sends his Spirit into the 70 elders.

Num 12: The Lord descends in the pillar of cloud, stands at the entrance to the Tent, and speaks with Aaron and Miriam (vv 5ff.).

The distinctive characteristics of this old Tent of Meeting, *ʾōhel môʿēd*, are as follows: It is located outside of the camp. Its function is non-cultic. Neither sacrifice nor priests are named, nor is the Ark; rather, this Tent functions in connection with oracular consultations. A theophany takes place at the entrance to the Tent of Meeting; here the divinity descends (*yārad*[3]), and the murky cloud (*ʿānān*[4]) is the vehicle of communication. The theophany is concluded when the cloud "removed [*sûr*] from over the Tent."[5] God is not constantly present in the

[2] Cf. also Deut 31:14-15; Josh 18:1; 19:51; 1 Sam 2:22; 2 Sam 6:17; 1Kgs 8:4 (cf. 1 Kgs 1:39; 2:28,30), which may not belong to the old Tent tradition, see *R. Schmitt* (1972: 180-196). On this ancient Tent tradition see, most recently, *Görg* (1967: 138-170), *R. Schmitt* (1972: 175-255 esp. 180ff.), *Koch* (TWAT 1/1973, 134-138), *Cross* (1973: 185-186), *V. Fritz* (1977: 100-109), *T.W. Mann* (1977: 144-152) and *Haran* (1978: 260-275). – On the term *ʾōhel môʿēd* see the survey in *Schmitt* (1972: 182f.). Note *Clifford's* interpretation, starting from Ugaritic *pḫr mʿd*, "divine assembly" (CBQ 33/1971, 221-227). On the occurrence of a Canaanite *mwʿd(t?)* in Wenamun, see *Kuschke* (ZAW 63/1951, 82f. n. 51).

[3] Exod 33:9; Num 11:17,25; 12:5.

[4] Exod 33:9; Num 11:25; 12:5,10.

[5] Num 12:10.

Tent; rather, the idea represented is a sort of rendezvous-theology. It is especially noteworthy that the Tent tradition does not know the term *kābôd*[6], nor *šākan*, which is likewise an important item in the Priestly lexicon.

If we remove from this pre-monarchical, non-Priestly Tent tradition and turn to the P-materials and their depiction of the Priestly Tabernacle, it immediately becomes obvious that we are dealing with something completely different. The placement of the Tabernacle in the midst of the camp,[7] plus its association with the most important cultic inventory (sacrifices, priests, the Ark) show that the Tabernacle cannot be identified with the old Tent.

On the other hand, it is clear that the Priestly theology has absorbed both terms and concepts from the ancient Tent tradition. This is seen in the frequent characterization of the Tabernacle as *ʾōhel môʿēd*[8] and in the appearance of the pillar of cloud[9] during theophanies. Further, the use by the P-materials of the verb *nôʿad*, "meet, gather",[10] would seem to point in the same direction.

Yet it is also true that important evidence exists which shows that the Tabernacle theology also has important connexions with the Jerusalemite Temple theology. The description of the Tabernacle and its inventory unmistakably supports this conclusion.[11] Moreover, besides using *ʾōhel môʿēd* to designate the sanctuary, P also uses *miškān* (RSV "Tabernacle"); the use of the latter in far older materials stemming from the Zion tradition (Pss 46:5; 84:2; 132:5,7) shows that its application in the P traditions is a direct loan from Jerusalemite theology.[12] Linguistically, this term undoubtedly means "dwelling", but as a concession to convention I have here chosen to use the designation "Tabernacle."

The fact of the double parentage of the Tabernacle theology, that is, the fact that it is rooted in both Temple theology and Tent tradition, explains the curious observation that the central terms or expressions of the traditions in the P-materials often display alternatives such as:[13]

[6] As was pointed out by *Terrien* (1978: 178, 218).
[7] Numbers 2 etc.
[8] See the concordance.
[9] Exod 16:10, 24:16,18; 40:34-38; Lev 16:2 etc.
[10] Exod 25:22; 29:42f.; 30:6,36; Num 17:19.
[11] See e.g. *R. Schmitt* (1972: 244-249).
[12] See *W.H.Schmidt* (ZAW 75/1963, 91-92). Cf. *Kuschke* (ZAW 63/1951, 84-86). Note also the use of the word to denote a sanctuary in Hatra (*KAI* no 247,6), according to *Hillers* (BASOR 206/1972, 54-56), who adopts the reading *bmškn*ʾ. For a possible occurrence in Mari see *Malamat* (FsFohrer 1980: 73).
[13] Cf. *R. Schmitt* (1972: 214).

	A	B
sanctuary	*ʾōhel mōʿēd*	*miškān*
divine presence	*nōʿad*	*šākan*[14]
medium of revelation	*ʿānān*[15]	*kābôd*
site of theophany	*petaḥ ʾōhel mōʿēd*[16]	*ʿal hakkappōret*[17]

The terms in the left-hand column (A) point to the old Tent tradition. Of the terms in the right-hand column (B), we have seen that *miškān* points to the Temple tradition. We shall shortly attempt to examine the terms *šākan*, *kābôd*, and *kappōret*, below.

Status Quaestionis: A Short Survey of Criticism.

The idea of the Presence in the Tabernacle texts must be examined on the basis of the traditio-historical perspective outlined above. Simply put, the *problem* may be formulated as follows: was it the old Tent tradition, characterized by a rendezvous-theology and divine revelations which occur "senkrecht von oben", which eventually determined the conception of God's presence in connexion with the Tabernacle, or, alternatively, was the Tabernacle theology fundamentally a new offshoot of the classical Jerusalemite Temple theology?

For many years, research has been dominated by the view that the Tent tradition was determinative for the idea of the Presence in the Tabernacle theology.[17a] Above all von Rad emphasized this view with a number of trenchant observations appearing in various works.[18] According to him, the idea of God's indwelling can be detected in P: the sacrifice and preparation of the shewbread take place *lipnê YHWH*. Further, P says that God dwells "in the midst of his people". However, von Rad also insists that such expressions are mere reminiscences of earlier tradition; it was the *mōʿēd* concept which ultimately triumphed in the traditio-historical process. Thus the Tabernacle functions in P as the meeting place *(Begegnungsort)* between God and man, not as Temple of indwelling *(Wohntempel)*. P's use of *nōʿad* would be meaningless, if it were held that God dwelt in the Tabernacle. Thus, according to van Rad, the accounts of the wandering in the desert repeatedly speak of "das Wunder dieser sich immer neu ereignenden Kondeszendenz Jahwes."[19]

[14] Exod 24:16; 25:8; 29:45-46; 40:35; Num 5:3; 9:17,18,22; 10:12; 35:34. Cf. also Lev 16:16 and Josh 22:19 with the tent/tabernacle as the subject of *šākan*.

[15] See note 9 above.

[16] See esp. Num 16:19; 20:6 and cf. also Exod 29:42-43; Lev 9:5-6,23-24; Num 17:7,15.

[17] Exod 25:22; Lev 16:2,13; Num 7:89 (cf. Exod 30:6,36; Num 17:19).

[17a] A survey of research is found in *R. Schmitt* (1972: 214ff.).

[18] *Von Rad* in his article on the tent from 1931 (Ges Stud I, ²1961: 110f.), in the study of the theology of P from 1934, (see Ges Stud II, 1973: 181-184) and in his Deuteronomium-Studien from 1947 (see Ges Stud II, 1973: 127-132, English translation 1953: 37-44).

[19] See *Von Rad* (Ges Stud II, 1973: 128). Von Rad refers to Exod 16:10; 29:43; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6.

So, too, M. Noth,[20] who finds in P traces of both the Jerusalemite theology and the Tent tradition. According to Noth, the Jerusalem tradition was an obvious and more or less self-explanatory quantity at the time when the Priestly materials took form. The significant and unique aspect of P's Tabernacle theology was that the tradents sought recourse to the ancient Tent tradition in the interests of complementing and correcting the notions of God's dwelling implicit in the Temple theology (p.266).

Kuschke[21] also is well aware of the importance of the Temple tradition, for instance in his discussion of *šākan* and *miškān* (pp.84-86). However, he feels that the Jerusalem tradition was available to P in the spiritualized form already present in Deuteronomy and the D-Work (pp.86f. and 103f.). Moreover, the idea of God's indwelling did not emerge victorious; rather, P became influenced by the *mô'ēd*-component (pp. 83 and 103f.), so that the concept present in P is the ultimate product of an ancient protest against the Temple (p.88).

The lines drawn by von Rad, Noth, and Kuschke have been extended by Fretheim,[22] who feels that the role of the Tent tradition permeates P so thoroughly that there is some question whether the Priestly source is not in reality anti-Temple. The Priestly Tabernacle is seen as an elaboration of pre-Temple institutions; it is an impermanent dwelling for Yahweh, a concept expressed by the choice of *miškān* as a designation for the sanctuary (p.321).

Cross emphasizes the importance of the desert traditions for P primarily on the basis of philological observations concerning *šākan* and *miškān*.[23] Study of the oldest occurrences of *šākan*[23a] suggests, in Cross' opinion, the conclusion that *miškān* originally meant "tent, encampment", which leads to the idea that *šākan* is to be understood in P as a denominated verb signifying "to tent, tabernacle." He further holds that P consistently distinguishes between *yāšab*, used of man, and *šākan*, used of God (cf. Num 35:34).

Clements[24] subscribes to Cross' views and emphasizes that P speaks of an "impermanent 'tabernacling' " (p.117). An important facet of this usage is, acccording to Clements, the fact that, "the Priestly authors were conscious of a gap in the history of Yahweh's presence in Israel, occasioned by the exile." (p.117).

M. Görg has undertaken a thorough study of *šākan*,[25] in which he points to a dynamic aspect of the semantic range of this verb; rather than expressing continual presence, it implies "ein kurzzeitiges Verweilen" (pp.60,113).[26] We shall return to Görg's views at greater length in our discussion of *šākan* to follow.

Thus the idea that the Tabernacle theology was characterized by the concept of the temporary, impermanent presence of God has been a prominent point of view subscribed to by many scholars in the researches of the last half century. Another, much smaller group have arrived at the diametrically opposite conclusion, that the Tabernacle in P is conceived of as the site of God's continual presence.

This view was asserted by Morgenstern in his early works.[27] Among other things,

[20] *Noth* (1948: 264-267).

[21] *Kuschke* (ZAW 63/1951, 74-105).

[22] *Fretheim* (VT 18/1968, 313-329, esp. 317f., 321).

[23] *Cross* (BAR I, 1961, 224-227, originally publ. in BA in 1947, and *idem* 1973:245f.).

[23a] Gen 9:27; 49:13; Num 23:9; Deut 33:20,28; Judg 5:17.

[24] *Clements* (1965: 113-122).

[25] *Görg* (1967: 97-124).

[26] *Görg* (TWAT 3, Lfg 6-7, 1981, col. 706) still seems to adhere to his main conclusions from 1967.

[27] *Morgenstern* (ZA 25/1911, 148-152 and JAOS 38/1918, 139).

Morgenstern regarded the use of *miškān* as a designation for the sanctuary as expressing the concept that the Lord dwelt in the midst of his elect and sanctified people. Rost[28] advocated a similar point of view; he was careful to distinguish between an *Erscheinungstempel* and a *Wohntempel*, where the former corresponds to the concept embodied in the old Tent tradition, while the Tabernacle in P corresponds to the latter.

However, grounds for taking seriously an alternative view to that propounded by von Rad, et al., are first made clear by Rainer Schmitt's penetrating critique of this position in his monograph *Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft*.[29] Schmitt begins by demonstrating that the verb *šākan* had an important pre-history in Temple theology prior to P; thus the use of *šākan/miškān* by P must be considered in the light of this pre-history (pp.219-220). Even if by choosing this terminology P intends to refer back to nomadic traditions, says Schmitt, *šākan* nevertheless expresses God's "accompanying presence" *(mitgehende Gegenwart)*. The formula *lipnê YHWH* represents an important aspect of this conception (p.221). However, the fact that P often uses the term *ʾōhel môʿēd* should not mislead us as to the meaning of the Tent tradition for P; rather, in agreement with earlier scholars, Schmitt concludes that *ʾōhel môʿēd* designates the function of the Tabernacle as cult site, while *miškān* refers to its architectonic aspect (pp.221f.). He further observes that the use of *kābôd* is unrelated to any previous divine descent; it is to be understood as a sort of emanation ("Hervorscheinen aus der Verhüllung", pp.222-225). Finally, in his analysis of Exod 29:42-46, Schmitt maintains that *šākan* is not to be interpreted on the basis of *nōʿad* (pp.225-227); rather, in P the verb refers to the continuous presence of God in the sanctuary. A correlative of this is P's fundamental hierocentric tendency, which is expressed in a climactic graduation of holiness in the sanctuary.

Basically, then, P has reformulated the ancient Tent tradition under the influence of the Jerusalemite Temple theology (p. 227). In the last decade, other scholars, too, have claimed that P speaks of the permanent presence of the Lord, and thus formulates a theology of immanence;[30] however, Schmitt's contribution remains the most thorough and cogently argued version of this aspect of the problem of the Presence.

Any attempt to analyze the idea of the divine presence in connexion with the Priestly Tabernacle will require an analysis of the relations between the Priestly theology and the old Tent tradition, on one hand, and the classical Temple theology, on the other.

1. The Priestly Tabernacle and the Ancient Tent Tradition

It is beyond question that the Priestly materials stand in a positive relation to the ancient Tent tradition (Exod 33, Num 11–12).[31] Even clearer is the fact that those P-texts which depict a *kābôd*-theophany in

[28] *Rost* (1938: 35-38).
[29] *R. Schmitt* (1972: 219-228).
[30] *Weinfeld* (1972: 197), *Childs* (1974: 534f.) and *Haran* (1978: 218-221, 226).
[31] Contrast *Fritz* (1977: 149).

an emergency situation especially demonstrate such relations.[32] However, these roots remain evident even should we widen our compass to include the cultic *kābôd*-theophanies. P's use of the "cloud" (*ʿānān*) as the vehicle of the *kābôd*[33] is a case in point; the same is true of the use of the term *ʾōhel môʿēd*, and particularly of the formulaic localization of a number of *kābôd*-theophanies at the *petaḥ ʾōhel môʿēd*, "the entrance of the tent of meeting."[34] Also, although the verb *nôʿad* is not attested in the oldest traditions, its occurrence in P should probably be understood in this context (cf. *ʾōhel môʿēd*).[35] This verb refers to a temporary encounter between God and man, but it tells us nothing about where God is thought to be in the intervals between such encounters.

In spite of the many obvious points of agreement between the P-materials and the Tent tradition, they do diverge on one significant issue. This is concerned with the divine descent. In the Tent tradition the verb *yārad* plays an important part (Exod 33:9; Num 11:17,25; 12:5). *Yārad* is also prominent in other ancient traditions (JE) describing the Sinai theophany (Exod 19:11,18,20; 34:5). It is usually assumed by scholars that the Priestly Tabernacle theology also retains the notion of the divine descent; thus von Rad speaks of "das Wunder dieser sich immer neu ereignenden Kondeszendenz Jahwes."[36]

However, examination of the Priestly materials shows that the verb *yārad* is in fact *never* used in connexion with God, neither in the account of the Sinai theophany (Exod 24:15-18), nor in the texts which describe Israel's wandering in the desert.[37] Admittedly, the Priestly patriarchal narratives do approximate the notion of the descent,[38] and the divine *kābôd* does "settle" (*šākan*) upon Sinai (Exod 24:16). Yet we never again encounter such hints after the Sinai theophany in Exod 24. Measured against the usage of the ancient Tent tradition, it is hard to imagine that this silence on the part of the P-materials could conceivably

[32] In the old pre-priestly tent tradition, the passage in Numbers 12 is particularly noteworthy. Here we find (a) Miriam and Aaron complaining about the preferential status of Moses (v 2), (b) the cloud theophany in which God speaks (vv 5-10) and (c) Moses' intercession (v 13). In the P texts depicting a *kābôd* theophany in a situation of crisis we find a pattern that seems to have something to do with the structure of Numbers 12. This Priestly pattern comprises (a) a situation of crisis (*lûn*), (b) the theophanic manifestation of *kābôd* and God's speaking and (c) Moses' intercession. This pattern is found in more or less complete form in Exodus 16, Numbers 14, 16, 17 and 20. Numbers 20 takes a place of its own (note *rîb* in v 2 and, as in Numbers 17, no explicit intercession).

[33] See note 9 above.

[34] See note 16 above.

[35] Exod 25:22; 29:42-43; 30:6,36; Num 17:19.

[36] *Von Rad* (Ges Stud II, 1973: 128).

[37] This was pointed out by *R. Schmitt* (1972: 222).

[38] Note *ʿālâ* in Gen 17:22; 35:13.

be accidental. Rather, it would seem that the concept has been consciously eliminated. Accordingly, there is no suggestion of a divine descent when Priestly materials describe revelation as a temporary encounter (verb *nôʿad*).

2. The Priestly Tabernacle and the Jerusalem Tradition

1. The Iconography

As we saw above, there are definite indications of a connexion between the Tabernacle theology and the classical Temple theology. This does not just apply to the screen of the Tabernacle and to its inventory, or to the use of the verb *šākan*, but to the iconography[39] connected with the Tabernacle as well.

It is clear that we find the Ark and the cherubim in the interior of the Tabernacle (Exod 25:10-22; 37:1-9), but these are not necessarily synonymous with the throne and footstool of God. In fact, the cherubim throne has undergone a virtual mutation, in that the cherubim are no longer throne-bearers; rather, they either stand or lie facing each other, and are envisaged as protecting the *kappōret*, the "mercy seat" (Exod 25:20; 37:9). The cherubim in Solomon's Temple were 10 cubits high (1 Kgs 6:23); those in the Tabernacle are considerably smaller, as we can deduce from the fact that they are of a piece with the "mercy seat" (Exod 25:19; 37:8), which was only 2.5 cubits in length (Exod 25:17; 37:6). In short, the cherubim have been virtually reduced to guardian angels for the Ark and the mercy seat.

This new concept also affects the placement of the Ark. In Solomon's Temple it was orientated along the *longitudinal* axis of the structure, parallel to and situated between the cherubim. The carrying poles stuck out and were visible (1 Kgs 8:8). By contrast, the Ark in the Priestly Tabernacle was apparently orientated along the *lateral* axis of the Temple. The cherubim are situated at each end of the lid of the Ark, the *kappōret*, while the Ark itself functions as a storage chest for the "testimony", *ʿēdût*. Parallel to the *ʾărôn habbĕrît*, the "Ark of the covenant" of the Deuteronomistic literature, we here find *ʾărôn hāʾēdût*, the "Ark of the Testimony".[40]

The most important aspect of the Ark in Solomon's Temple was that it served as the footstool of God. As a seeming reminiscence of this

[39] On the iconography, see most recently *J. Maier* (1964: 88-89), *Fritz* (1977: 129-139) and *Görg* (BN 4/1977, 13-24). Görg believes that the texts refer to winged sphinxes in recumbent position (pp. 18f.). See also above Ch. II A note 48.

[40] Exod 25:22 etc. On this see *Volkwein* (BZ 13/1969, 18-40, esp. 25f.).

ancient conception, the Tabernacle theology uses a special term for the lid of the Ark, *kappōret*. M. Görg has argued convincingly that this term is to be traced back to Egyptian *kp (n) rdwj*, "sole of the foot", and thus refers to the footstool of the Lord.[41] If this etymology is correct, it is interesting to observe that in the Priestly theology the *kappōret* is the site of God's revelation; it is here God appears *(nôᶜad)* and speaks.[42] The fact that the *kappōret* is the centre of the cultic symbolism of the Tabernacle represents an important connexion with the old Temple theology.

To summarize: the iconography of the Tabernacle reveals clear connexions with that of the Jerusalem Temple; at the same time we also find a new concept which must presumably have evolved under Egyptian influence in late pre-exilic times.[43] The idea of the throne has only survived as a terminological reminiscence *(kappōret)*; it is therefore hardly surprising that the Tabernacle theology has no use for the verb *yāšab*, which had earlier been crucial for the theology of the Temple. The cherubim and the Ark no longer make up the site of God's enthronement *(yāšab)*, but only of God's temporary encounters with man *(nôᶜad)*. The throne has become the site rather of divine epiphanies.[44]

2. *The Presence of the Divine Kabod*

We now turn from the iconography to the relationship between *kābôd* and the sanctuary; is *kābôd* always or only intermittently present in the Tabernacle? Let us first consider how the *kābôd* is said to fill the Tabernacle (Exod 40:34-38). The passage in question does not really deal with a temporary visit, but with how the Lord takes possession of his sanctuary when it is completed. This would seem to be an actualization of the notion we encounter in such ancient literature as Ps 24: the King of glory (note: *melek hakkābôd!*), Lord Sabaoth, enters his Temple. The Priestly traditional materials in Exod 40:34-38 and Ezek 43:1-9 are late variations of the same theme.

The ultimate foundation of the gradations of sanctity associated with the Tabernacle seems to be the *permanent* presence of the *kābôd* in the Tabernacle. The access of the High Priest to the sanctuary is strictly

[41] *Görg* (ZAW 89/1977, 115-118). Cf. Ezek 43:7. – For a different interpretation see *Gerleman* (1980: 11-23, esp. 18ff.).
[42] Exod 25:22; 30:6 and cf. 29:42-43; 30:36. Note also Num 7:89.
[43] See *von Rad* (Ges Stud I, ²1961, 117) and *Görg* (BN 4/1977, 18ff.). *Görg* (1975: 177) assumes two waves of Egyptian influence on ancient Israel, one during the Solomonic era and one during the reign of Josiah and the following decades.
[44] Thus *J. Maier* (1964: 88).

regulated and is in fact first made possible by the use of incense, which obscures the mercy seat from human sight (Lev 16:2-17; see esp. vv 2 and 13).

It therefore seems probable that the *kābôd* was conceived of as continuously present, and further, as being theoretically visible above the *kappōret*. But in addition to the continual Presence in the privacy of the sanctuary, the texts also describe *public* manifestations of the majesty of God which take place outside of the Tabernacle. Such manifestations take place in part on solemn occasions, as when the *kābôd* "settles" upon Sinai (Exod 24:15-18), or when Aaron undertakes his first sacrifice (Lev 9:5-6,23-24); and in part in critical situations when the people hesitate to submit to God's will (Exod 16:7,10; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7). These public manifestations are not so much temporary descents of the divinity as "emanations"[45] of the divine *kābôd*, which is constantly present in the interior of the Tabernacle.[46] We seem to be confronted with an actualization of the concept depicted in expressions in the Sabaoth theology of how God "shines forth" *(hôpîaʿ)* from the Temple on Zion (Ps 50:2; 80:2).

The passages which describe how the pillar or cloud temporarily lets up in order to direct the wandering people of God to a new campsite[47] should not lead us to believe that the presence of God among his people was thought to be temporary, or that he would ever abandon his people.

We should observe concerning the relationship between the cloud and the *kābôd* that although they are associated with each other, they are certainly also carefully distinguished from each other. Moses penetrates into the cloud, but in so doing, he can hardly be said to enter the *kābôd* (Exod 24:18). The *kābôd* fills the Tabernacle in Exod 40:34-38, while the cloud covers it (v 35). Nor is the cloud a necessary prerequisite for the manifestations of the *kābôd*.[48] This would seem to be explained by the fact that in the P-materials *ʿānān and kābôd* are rooted in two different backgrounds. The cloud belonged to the ancient pre-Priestly Tent tradition, while, as we shall see, the *kābôd* was a product of the Jerusalemite Temple theology (see below, Ch. IV.A).

[45] Thus *R. Schmitt* (1972: 224), who uses the term "Hervorscheinen". – Note that this distinction between two concepts (the veiled presence and the public manifestations of *kābôd*) is not identical with our distinction above between two types of passages (see the introduction of this chapter).

[46] Note that in Leviticus 9 the people are said to be *lipnê YHWH* (v 5) already *before* the public manifestation of *kābôd* (vv 6, 23f.). Cf. Exod 16:9-10.

[47] Exod 40:36-38; Num 9:17,18,22; 10:11-12.

[48] There is no mention of the cloud in Exod 29:43; Lev 9:5-6,23-24; Num 20:6. In Num 14:10, however, a reference to the cloud is found in the LXX, which may be original.

3. *The Verb šākan as Terminus Technicus for the Presence of God*

The verb *yāšab*, "to sit, dwell, sit (enthroned)", was an important feature of the Zion-Sabaoth theology. As we have seen, this theological use of *yāšab* is absent from the P-materials, which prefer instead the term *šākan*, "to settle down, dwell"[49] as an expression for the presence of God. The use of this verb would seem to indicate yet another point of contact with the Temple tradition.[50] However, Cross and Görg have thought to find in the use of *šākan* by the P-materials an expression of a fundamentally different conception of the Presence from that represented in the Jerusalem tradition. There is therefore some question as to whether the use of *šākan* does not offer insuperable difficulties to our conclusion concerning the permanence of the divine presence in the Priestly Tabernacle.

Cross[51] insists that *miškān* originally signified "tent", and "encampment" in the plural. Thus the use of *šākan* by the P-materials is thought to be a sort of denominative: "to tent, tabernacle". Such usage would attempt to express the curious paradox that the cosmic and omnipotent God is simultaneously present in his Temple.

Görg has concerned himself with *šākan* in a number of contexts; in his article on *yāšab* in TWAT he emphasizes the semantic contrast between *yāšab* and *šākan*. The former term can be both "sedative" and "mansive", and thus has either ingressive or durative *Aktionsart* (mode of action). The latter term, *šākan*, has an important semantic component which may be described as "morative".[52] This distinction seems to lie in continuation of Görg's previous discussion of *šākan* in his monograph *Das Zelt der Begegnung* (1967), where he devotes a whole chapter to the verb in question. Here he maintained that when *šākan* has a human subject (pp. 98-110), it denotes "zünächst die nomadische Lebensweise des vorübergehenden Aufenthalts und den Prozess der Konsolidierung im Gegensatz zum bürgerrechtlichen, zur Ruhe gekommenen Wohnen *(yāšab)*" (p. 109).

This "dwelling" is coloured by an inner dynamics; thus Görg finds it in Gen 16:12 to express "ein machtvolles Wohnen" (p. 101). The image of Gad as a couching lion *(kĕlābî' šāken)* in the Blessing of Moses (Deut 33:20) paints "ein plastisches Bild zur Entladung kommender Energie" (p. 102).

In theological contexts dealing with God (pp. 110-124), *šākan* primarily occurs in connexion with the Jerusalem Temple and the Priestly Tabernacle. However, some circumstantial evidence (Deut 33:12, 16; Ps 78:60) leads Görg to assume that this usage in Temple theology stems from pre-monarchic cult sites (pp. 117-124).[52a]

[49] For discussions of *šākan* see *Cross* (BAR I, 1961, 224-227, originally publ. in BA in 1947, and *idem* 1973: 245f.), *Noth* (Ges Stud I, ²1960, 187, originally publ. in 1950), *Kuschke* (ZAW 63/1951, 84-86), *Koch* (1959: 14-16, 31), *Dumermuth* (ZAW 70/1958, 64-66), *W.H.Schmidt* (ZAW 75/1963, 91-92), *Schreiner* (1963: 89-94), *Görg* (1967: 97-124), *R. Schmitt* (1972: 219-221) and *Hulst* (THAT 2/1976, 904-909). – On *škn* in Ugaritic see *Dietrich – Loretz – Sanmartín* (UF 6/1974, 47-53).

[50] This was stressed by *Noth, Kuschke, Schmidt* and *Schmitt* (see note 49).

[51] See note 49.

[52] *Görg* (in the forthcoming article on *yāšab* in TWAT 3, Lfg 8-9).

[52a] Cf. *Dumermuth* (ZAW 70/1958, 64-66).

Görg interprets the most typical passages in texts representative of the Temple theology in such a way that *šākan* expresses a modification of the more static concept of presence expressed by *yāšab*. He finds this modifying aspect in Isa 8:18, while he interprets Ps 68:17 as representing both the idea of the enthroned God *(yāšab)* and the conception of the God who "settles down" *(šākan)* (pp. 114-115). Görg also relates 1 Kgs 8:12f. to the revelation at Sinai; the massive sort of presence mediated by *yāšab* in v 13 is held to be Solomon's somewhat forced interpretation of the more ancient *šākan* (p. 116). Thus the use of *šākan* and *miškān* in connexion with the Jerusalem Temple represents a usage, "die einen dauernden besitzrechtlichen Aufenthalt ausschliesst." Underlying this usage is the idea, "dass Jahwe nicht ständig am Kultort haftet, sondern von Zeit zur Zeit dort anwesend ist" (p. 113). Thus Görg.

Now, the views promulgated by Cross and Görg have not lacked opposition. As we have already noted, Rainer Schmitt asserts that the use of *šākan/miškān* in the P-materials is to be understood against the background provided by the use of these terms in more ancient Jerusalemite tradition.[53]

Hulst[54] offers an inventory of the use of *šākan* in his article in THAT which leads him to conclude that in and of itself the verb *šākan* says nothing about the nature or duration of the presence. Yet, in a number of passages the context suggests that the notion of a permanent indwelling is to be preferred; this semantic freight is also present in theological usage: "Es handelt sich um ein richtiges Wohnen, einen dauernden Aufenthalt und nicht um ein vorübergehendes Verweilen." (Col. 906f.).

Now, to get a proper grip on the use of *šākan* in the P-materials, I think it is imperative that we relate this usage on the one hand to the general semantic characteristics of the verb, and on the other to its theological use in traditions which antedate the P-materials.

(1) Generally speaking, we may note that the hypothetical contrast between *šākan* and *yāšab* when used of human subjects is rather less than has often been claimed. The noun *miškān* has the general sense "dwelling";[55] it may be used with reference to a tent (eg. Num 16:24; cf. v 26; Num 24:5), and the verb *šākan*, which means "to dwell, abide", is also used on occasion of residing in a tent.[56] This fact, however, cannot provide the basis for any wide-ranging claims about *šākan* as a special term associated with a nomadic way of living. The verb *yāšab* can in fact also be employed of the "tenting" of the nomad.[57] Moreover, it is apparent that *yāšab* is not alone in expressing both the durative and the ingressive *Aktionsarten* (modes of action), since this is also true of *šākan*. *Šākan* may be used ingressively to

[53] *R. Schmitt* (1972: 219-221).
[54] *Hulst* (THAT 2/1976, 904-909).
[55] References in *Hulst* (col. 906).
[56] E.g. Gen 9:27; 35:21-22; Judg 8:11; Ps 120:5; Job 11:14; 18:15.
[57] E.g. in Gen 4:20; 13:18; 25:27; Jer 35:7,10; Hos 12:10. Note how *yāšab* is used about Abraham in Gen 13:12.18; 16:3; 20:1; 22:19.

describe how someone "settles down,"[58] but it is sometimes also usec duratively of a permanent stay at a location:

> And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell [*šākan*] in their own place, and be disturbed no more. (2 Sam 7:10)

> ... all you inhabitants of the world [*yōšbê tēbēl*],
> you who dwell on the earth [*šōknê ʾāreṣ*]. (Isa 18:3)

> ... they shall possess it for ever,
> from generation to generation they shall dwell [*šākan*] in it. (Isa 34:17)

> Depart from evil, and do good;
> so shall you abide [*šākan*] for ever. (Ps 37:27)

> The righteous shall possess the land,
> and dwell [*šākan*] upon it for ever. (Ps 37:29)

> The children of thy servants shall dwell secure [*šākan*]:
> their posterity shall be established [*kûn* Niphal] before thee.
> (Ps 102:29; RSV v 28)

> ... those who dwell in houses of clay [*šōknê bottê ḥomer*]. (Job 4:19)

> ... the waters and their inhabitants [*šōkĕnîm*]. (Job 26:5)

It is also evident that the noun *miškān* can designate a dwelling for a more than temporary stay; this appears in the use of the word with reference to a grave:

> ... you who hew a tomb on the height,
> and carve a habitation [*miškān*] for yourself in the rock. (Isa 22:16)

> Their graves [text. emend.] are their homes [*bottîm*] for ever,
> their dwelling places [*miškĕnôt*] to all generations. (Ps 49:12)[59]

These two passages help to illuminate Isa 26:19, where we read, "the dwellers in the dust [*šōknê ʿāpār*]." Thus, as a preliminary conclusion, we must admit that *šākan*, like *yāšab*, can have either durative or momentary *Aktionsart*.

A semantic distinction between these two verbs *does*, however, exist, in that *yāšab* contains the sense-component "to sit (enthroned), to be throned"; this nuance is absent from *šākan*.

[58] Ps 55:7 (where the Psalmist compares himself to a dove). An ingressive sense seems also to be at hand in Gen 25:18 (cf. Gen 16:12 and Judg 7:12); 49:13; Mic 4:10 and Job 3:5; Sir 43:17 (about locusts "settling down", Greek: καταλύω). Note also Num 9:17; 10:12, where it is used to describe, how the cloud settles down.

[59] *Görg* (1967: 107f.) understands the use of *miškān* to denote a grave in the following manner: "Der Verbleib darin hat mit einem eigentlichen besitzrechtlichen Aufenthalt ... nichts mehr zu tun." The statement in itself is certainly true but can hardly be considered as an explanation of the choice of *miškān*.

(2) We may now examine the theological usage, beginning with the use of *šākan* in pre-monarchical times. Naturally, we cannot rule out the possibility that the use of this verb in the Zion tradition might have been derived from a more ancient usage which presupposed a less static presence of God. However, the preserved materials scarcely provide sure indications on this point. The language of Ps 78:60 may well be of relatively late date (cf. Lev 16:16 and Josh 22:19). Deut 33:12b seems to have been formulated against a background in which Jerusalem was the cult centre.[60] The most interesting passage is Deut 33:16, *šōknî sĕneh*, "he that dwelt in the bush",[60a] but not even this expression can permit us to draw far-reaching conclusions concerning the meaning of *šākan* in pre-monarchical times.

(3) And so we turn to *šākan* in texts representing the Jerusalem tradition. It would be very imprudent to let our study of *šākan* in these texts be influenced by conclusions based upon a supposed pre-monarchical usage when this usage is as weakly attested as we have found to be the case.

The centrality of the conception of the Presence in the Temple tradition is palpable in a number of texts, as was demonstrated previously (see above, Ch.I). *Yāšab* plays an important role in expressing the presence of the enthroned God; the question is whether the use of *šākan* in these texts reveals an intention to modify and limit this divine presence. The fact that both verbs are to a large extent synonymous is apparent in the following quotation:

> … the mount which God desired for his abode [*lĕšibtô*],
> yea, where the Lord will dwell [*yiškōn*] for ever. (Ps 68:17)

Here the sense is durative, and the adverb makes clear that *šākan* by no means limits *yāšab*. The same seems to be the case in the classical formulation of the theology of the Presence:

> Yahweh has established the sun in the heavens,
> But has said that he would dwell in thick darkness
> [*liškōn bā ʿărāpel*].
> I have built a royal house [*bêt zĕbūl*] for thee,
> An established place for thy throne [*mākôn lĕšibtĕkā*] for ever. (1 Kgs 8:12-13)[61]

[60] Emending *ʿālāyw* at the end of Deut 33:12a into *ʿelyôn* and connecting this with what follows I translate: "Elyon encompasses him all the day long, and makes his dwelling [*šākan*] between his shoulders." The formulation seems to refer to the presence of the Lord in Jerusalem, between the "shoulders" of Benjamin.

[60a] On this cf. *Beek* (OTS 14/1965, 155-161).

[61] The first part of the verse is here reconstructed on the basis of the LXX. The translation is that of *J. Gray* ([2]1970: 212).

If anyone should insist on a semantic contrast between *šākan* and *yāšab*, it is at any rate not applicable to the massivity of the presence or its extension in time; rather, the distinction we are able to discern lies in the fact that *yāšab* contains the sense-component "to sit (enthroned), to be throned", which is not true of *šākan*.

When used of the presence of God on Zion, *šākan* appears in expressions wich have all the poignancy of the participial divine epithet:

> *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt haššōkēn bĕhar ṣiyyôn* (Isa 8:18)
> *ʾănî YHWH ʾĕlōhêkem šōkēn bĕṣiyyôn har qodšî* (Joel 4:17; cf. v 21)
> *bārûk YHWH miṣṣiyyôn šōkēn yĕrûšālāyim* (Ps 135:21)[62]

This use of *šākan* within the framework of the Zion-Sabaoth theology has left reverberations in a number of texts.[63]

If we are to comprehend the use of *šākan* by the P-materials of the Pentateuch, it is imperative to consult the following passages in Ezekiel and Zechariah. In Ezekiel we read,

> the place of my throne and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell [*šākan*] in the midst [*bĕtôk*] of the people of Israel for ever. (Ezek 43:7; cf. v 9)

The same Priestly stream of tradition, whose roots lie in the classical Zion theology, is still present in Zechariah:

> Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion;
> for lo, I come and I will dwell [*šākan*] in the midst [*bĕtôk*]
> of you, says the Lord. (Zech 2:14; cf. v 15; RSV 2:10,11)
>
> Thus says the Lord:
> I will return to Zion, and will dwell [*šākan*] in the midst
> [*bĕtôk*] of Jerusalem,
> And Jerusalem shall be called the faithful city, and
> the mountain of the Lord of hosts, the holy mountain. (Zech 8:3)

In short, the verb *šākan* plays some sort of part in the Jerusalem tradition; however, nothing suggests that it has the task of modifying or limiting the divine presence. *Yāšab* and *šākan* are then largely synonymous in their theological contexts. Again, a slight distinction in nuance is present, in that *yāšab* may be used of God's throning, while this component is absent from *šākan*, which is a less specific expression for a temporally continuous divine presence.

[62] Cf. *yhw ʾlhʾ škn yb* in Elephantine. See *DISO* (p. 299) and cf. *Porten* (1968: 109). Note also for instance *m. Mid.* 2:2.

[63] Isa 33:5; 57:15; Ezek 43:7,9; Zech 2:14,15; 8:3; Ps 74:2 and 1 Chron 23:25. In my opinion the occurrences of the verb *šākan* in the P-material also belong here.

(4) It is now appropriate to turn to the use of *šākan* in the Priestly materials of the Pentateuch. Our point of departure is the "cloud" in Numbers 9:

> And whenever the cloud was taken up [*hēʾālōt*] from over the tent, after that the people of Israel set out; and in the place where the cloud settled down [*yiškon*], there the people of Israel encamped [*yaḥănû*]. (Num 9:17)
>
> At the command of the Lord the people of Israel set out, and at the command of the Lord they encamped; as long as the cloud rested [*kol yĕmê ʾăšer yiškōn heʿānān*] over the tabernacle, they remained in camp [*yaḥănû*]. (Num 9:19)

Šākan constitutes the antithesis of *ʿālâ* in the former of these quotations, and is ingressive: "settle down". In the latter verse the temporal expression indicates that *šākan* is used duratively: "rest, abide" (cf. v 22). This ambivalence characterizes the use of *šākan* in the P-materials; it is employed ingressively to describe how the cloud settles down on a site (Num 9:17; 10:12), and how the *kābôd* settles down upon Sinai (Exod 24:16). However, it is also used duratively to describe how the cloud abides upon the Tabernacle (Exod 40:35; Num 9:18,22). When *šākan* is used of God himself in the texts dealing with Israel's wandering in the desert, only the durative use is attested:

> And let them make me a sanctuary [*miqdāš*], that I may dwell in their midst [*wĕšākantî bĕtōkām*]. (Exod 25:8)
>
> And I will dwell among [*wĕšākantî bĕtôk*] the people of Israel, and I will be their God. And they shall know that I am the Lord their God, who brought them forth out of the land of Egypt that I might dwell among them [*lĕšoknî bĕtôkām*]; I am the Lord their God. (Exod 29:45-46)

The latter passage shows how the salvation-history which had been attached to the Exodus finds its perfection in the presence of God among his people in his Tabernacle. We noted above how Exod 15:1-18 allows the Exodus and wandering in the desert to culminate in the royal presence of God on Zion. The question is whether Exod 29 is not a Priestly reinterpretation of this rather late concept of the Zion tradition (see above, Ch.II.D.2.2). This suspicion is reinforced by the fact that, as we have seen, the P-materials reveal points of contact with the Zion tradition on other issues as well. I refer here to the way God takes possession of his Tabernacle, and the way the *kābôd* shines forth during public manifestations of the majesty of God.

The participial use of *šākan* occurs twice in the P-materials (Num 5:3; 35:34); it seems likely that these occurrences are reflexes of the participial usage of the Zion tradition (cf. Isa 8:18, etc.).

The Priestly formulations of the presence of God are linguistically distinguished from those of the Zion tradition in their use of prepositions. We have repeatedly met

expressions in the P-materials which describe the presence of God in the midst of his people, where the preposition employed is *bětôk*. The use of this preposition in expressions dealing with God's presence is with a few exceptions confined to the Priestly traditions in the Pentateuch, and to Ezekiel and Zechariah.[64] The distribution of *bětôk* does not overlap with that of *běqereb*, which is also found in similar expressions. The latter preposition occurs primarily in texts stemming from the Zion tradition, and in the Deuteronomistic literature.[65] We cannot go into the problem of these special preferences here in more detail, but I should like to point out that closer examination of it could prove rewarding.

The difference between the traditions centred on the Priestly Tabernacle and the Temple on Zion respectively is quite tangible at one point in particular: the latter-named emphasizes the presence of God on Zion. The Temple mountain is central. This conception still plays a role in Deuteronomy, which repeatedly speaks of, "the place which the Lord your God will choose, to let his name dwell there." The P-materials diverge from the other streams of tradition in this respect, in that they emphasize that God is present in his Tabernacle, without insisting that this ties him to a special, divinely elected place.[66] The important notion stressed here is God's ability to be present among his people even at a previously unknown campsite. If we consider that the priestly Tabernacle theology had its primary *Sitz im Leben* in circles which were devastated by the catastrophe of the Exile (see below), then we should recognize that, like the Name theology, this concept was a theological novelty possessing a profound existential appeal.

We may now proceed to summarize our conclusions concerning *šākan*. This verb may have both durative and ingressive *Aktionsarten*. It frequently designates an explicity permanent visit, that is, a regular indwelling. Its theological use in the P-materials cannot be held to designate the divine presence as temporary. The use of *šākan* in the P-materials must be studied in the light of its use in the Zion tradition. The Priestly theology's preference for *šākan* instead of *yāšab* seems to be explained by the fact that the concept of the enthroned God was ultimately abandoned (cf. the iconography), since *šākan* is not associated with such subsidiary meanings as "to sit (enthroned), to throne", which are characteristic of *yāšab*. Finally, the abandonment of the conception of enthronement is explained by the situation of the Exile.

[64] I have noted the following occurrences of *bětôk* in connection with God's presence on earth: Exod (3:2,4); 25:8; 29:45,46; Lev 15:31; 16:16; 26:11,12; Num 5:3; 16:3; 35:34; Josh 22:31; 1 Kgs 6:13; Ezek 37:26,28; 43:7,9; 48:8,10,21; (Hag 2:5); Zech 2:9,14,15; 8:3.

[65] Thus *běqereb* in Exod 17:7; 33:3,5; 34:9; Num 11:20; 14:14,42; Deut 1:42; 6:15; 7:21; 23:15; 31:17; Josh 3:10; 1 Sam 4:3 (the Ark); Isa 12:6; Jer 14:9; Hos 11:9; Joel 2:27; Amos 5:17; Mic 3:11; Zeph 3:5,15,17; Ps 46:6.

[66] See *Fretheim* (VT 18/1968, 313-329, esp. 319).

Before we enter on a discussion of *kābôd* in Ezekiel, it will be appropriate to summarize our main conclusions concerning the Priestly materials in the Pentateuch. Here we find close ties with the old pre-monarchical Tent tradition, but the idea of divine visitations *(yārad)* has not been retained. Thus P does not relocate God to heaven. Instead, there is a straight line leading from the Jerusalem tradition, insofar as the basic notion is that of divine immanence.[67] The divine *kābôd* is depicted as being constantly present in the tabernacle.

On two important points, however, we found deviations from the notions held by the Jerusalem tradition: (a) The idea of God as sitting enthroned upon the cherubim became obsolete. Consequently the verb *yāšab* fell into disuse in language about God, and *šākan* became the important term instead. (b) The idea of one elected place (Mt. Zion) was abandoned; instead, God is depicted as leading his people from campsite to campsite. – These are developments that would seem to make sense in the historical situation of the Exile.

B. The Kabod Theology in the Book of Ezekiel

The Biblical Materials

Ezekiel was among those who were led into exile already in 597; during his exile, the prophet experienced a number of visions in the descriptions of which the term *kābôd* signifies the resplendent majesty of the divine presence. The relevant passages are confined to three different contexts in the book of Ezekiel:

1) The Call of Ezekiel (1:1–3:15)

1:28 the vision of the throne and the form above it (1:4-28a) is summarized with the words, "Such was the appearance of the likeness of the *kĕbôd YHWH*."

3:12 the *kĕbôd YHWH* arises (read *bĕrûm* instead of *bārûk*), and together with the living creatures (v 13) it leaves the prophet at the river.

3:23 Ezekiel receives a new vision after seven days (3:16), this time upon the steppe; there he perceives the *kĕbôd YHWH*, just as at the river Chebar.

[67] One could be tempted to believe that the notion of *tabnit* (Exod 25:9,40; cf. 26:30) would presuppose the relocation of God to the heavens above and exclude the idea of divine immanence in the sanctuary. See, however, Wis 9:8.

2) The Vision of the Judgement of Jerusalem. Ch. 8–11:

8:4 *kĕbôd ᵓĕlōhê yiśrāᵓēl* reveals itself at the north gate.
9:3 *kĕbôd ᵓĕlōhê yiśrāᵓēl* goes up from the cherub (sg), removes to the *miptān*, the "threshold",[1] and speaks with the recording angel about the judgement of Jerusalem.
10:4 *kĕbôd YHWH* goes up from the cherub (sg) and moves to the threshold.
10:18 *kĕbôd YHWH* returns to its place above the cherubim (pl).
10:19 *kĕbôd ᵓĕlōhê yiśrāᵓēl* is above the cherubim (pl), who remove to the east gate.
11:22 *kĕbôd ᵓĕlōhê yiśrāᵓēl* is above the cherubim (pl).
11:23 *kĕbôd YHWH* leaves Jerusalem and stands upon the mountain east of the city.

3) The Vision of the New Temple, Ch. 40–48:

43:2 *kĕbôd ᵓĕlōhe yiśrāᵓēl* comes from the east.
43:4 *kĕbôd YHWH* enters the Temple through the east gate.
43:5 *kĕbôd YHWH* fills the Temple.
44:4 *kĕbôd YHWH* fills the house of the Lord.

Modern research has strongly emphasized that the Book of Ezekiel in its present form is the result of a complicated literary process. However, the book displays an overall scheme which unifies and orders it and endows it with monumental beauty. Within this scheme, a number of dated sections couched in first-person form have a structuring function. The sequence of dated sections, and of them the arrangement of visions referring to the fate of the Temple in particular, must be ascribed to Ezekiel.[1a]

The three visions in which Ezekiel relates in the first person how he happened to view the Glory of the Lord[2] are closely related and form an impressive work of literary architecture. Various common formulas and motifs indicate that these three texts are related;[3] only these three visions, for example, are designated *marᵓôt ᵓĕlōhîm*, "visions of God" (1:1; 8:3; 40:3). The two visions related in Ch. 8–11 and 40–48 are

[1] The sense "threshold" is more probable than "podium", suggested by *Zimmerli* (1969: 233). For "threshold" cf. Ezek 46:2. In 9:3; 10:4,18 the word refers to the threshold of the temple building as also in 47:1.
[1a] See *Eissfeldt* (1965: 373).
[2] In addition to the three (1:1–3:15; 8:1–11:25; 40:1–48:35) note also Ezek 3:16a, 22–5:17, where *kābôd* occurs in 3:23.
[3] See *H. van Dyke Parunak* (JBL 99/1980, 61-74).

literary complements of each other. In the first of these, Ezekiel sees how the Glory of the Lord abandons the Temple and Jerusalem in order to alight on the Mount of Olives (11:22-23) because of the people's sin. In the latter, the prophet experiences how the Glory of the Lord returns to Jerusalem and takes possession of the new sanctuary (43:1-12; 44:4-5). Further, the prophet's spiritual translation, his transportation in the Spirit, plays an important role in these two visions. In 8:3 Ezekiel is brought by the Lord to the Temple in Jerusalem. 11:1 accounts for a short journey, to the east gate of the Temple compound; this vatic report is concluded by Ezekiel's being conducted back to the exiles in Chaldea (11:24). The great vision of the new Temple is introduced by a similar spiritual translation experience (40:1-2), and in 43:5 the prophet is transported to the inner court of the Temple.

Thus the prophet is brought to Jerusalem in the visions in which the Glory leaves and returns to the Temple. However, matters are otherwise in Ezekiel's visionary call narrative (1:1–3:15). The vision begins when Ezekiel sees "a stormy wind" and a "great cloud" which come from *ṣāpôn* (1:4); moreover, it ends in a passage (3:12-13) which seems to say that the Glory and the living creatures leave Ezekiel in his captivity. Thus the first vision relates how the Lord in his divine majesty comes to Ezekiel in his exile.[4] Both of the others describe the transportation of the prophet to the city where the Lord dwells.

Ezekiel's "visions of God" have been intensely discussed from the point of view of literary criticism.[5] Now, it is imperative in critical analysis of Biblical texts to evaluate the types of literary materials present. This is especially the case with Ezekiel, since we have here to do with accounts of prophetic visions. However, in dealing with the Biblical visionary materials we should take account of the possibility that the metamorphoses and permutations revealed in them may very well be the result of the special character of the visionary experiences in question, and are not necessarily products of redactional meddling. One would, after all, hesitate to take the knife of literary criticism to

[4] In his excellent discussion of Ezekiel's vision in Ezekiel 1 and 10 *Keel* (1977: 125-273) assumes a tension between the *kābôd* as enthroned in the Temple and the omnipresent majesty of the heavenly God (pp. 252f., 272). Commenting on Ezekiel 1 Keel says: "Keine für Ezechiel Jahwe unzumutbare Übersiedlung in ein unreines Land findet da statt" (p. 272). – This is to create an artificial tension.

[5] See especially *Zimmerli* (1969: *ad loc.*), who also refers to earlier discussions. Note also *Keel* (1977: 126-151) and on Ezekiel 1–3 *Houk* (ZAW 93/1981, 76-85), and on Ezekiel 10 *Houk* (JBL 90/1971, 42-54) and *Halperin* (VT 26/1976, 129-141). Note also *York* (VT 27/1977, 82-98), who discusses the relations between Chaps. 1 and 43. – For previous remarks on the idea of the divine presence in Ezekiel, see *Westphal* (1908: 194-201), *B. Stein* (1939: 265-293), and *Zimmerli* (1969: esp. pp. 46, 50-52, 57-58, 231, 1079-1081).

Strindberg's *Dream Play*, just as few exegetes would demand a banal and unimaginative uniformity of their personal dreams. If we can accept that that which appears as a tree in one act of Strindberg's drama reappears in another as a coat-hanger, then the transmutation of humanoid creatures in Ezekiel 1 to theriomorphic cherubim in Ch. 10 is perhaps not unbearable.

The Vision of the Call. – In this vision (dated to 593; see 1:2), Ezekiel sees the theophanic cloud coming "from the north" (1:4); the text thereafter describes the four creatures in human form (v 5), their faces and wings (vv 6ff.), their wheels (vv 15ff.), the "firmament" (*rāqîaʿ*) like "ice"[6] (*qeraḥ*, v 22), the throne and the enthroned God (vv 26f.).

Using the inconsistent use of suffixes as a divining-rod, Zimmerli has evaluated the description of the feet, hands and faces of the creatures (vv 7-11a) and the description of the wheels (vv 15-21) as secondary additions.[7] It is not, however, immediately obvious that the suffixes may be used in this fashion as a criterium for critical surgery.[8] In any case, whether one prefers, with Zimmerli, a minimalist position, or sees vv 4-28 as largely a unity, as I am inclined to do, at least the following elements belong to Ezekiel's vision: four-winged creatures support a disc-like firmament of ice (RSV "awesome crystal"); a throne rests upon the latter, and enthroned upon it is a figure whose upper and lower parts radiate dazzling light.

The Vision of the Judgement of Jerusalem (Ch. 8–11). – This vision is dated to the sixth year of the exile of King Jehoiachin, that is, to 592 (8:1). The prophet is transported to Jerusalem (8:3), where he witnesses how foreign cults are practised within the Temple precincts, and how the image of jealousy is erected at the north gate (8:3-16). After the recent national disaster, the people have drawn the conclusion that the Lord has abandoned the country (8:12; 9:9). And yet, the prophet observes that the Lord nevertheless continues to dwell in the Temple (8:4).

In Ch. 9 the Glory goes up from the cherubim, approaches the threshold and orders a recording angel to execute the judgement upon Jerusalem; this follows in vv 6-7. In the beginning of Ch. 10 the prophet

[6] Thus *Keel* (1977: 254).

[7] *Zimmerli* (1969: 21-30; cf. pp. 33f.) assumes a core consisting of vv 1.3bβ.4a.5.6*.11b.12*.13*.22*.26.27*.28. Using statistical methods *Houk* (ZAW 93/1981, 76-85, esp. p. 83) arrives at a similar conclusion.

[8] See *Houk* (JBL 90/1971, 45f.). For a cautious position see *Keel* (1977: 162).

sees the "firmament" and throne (10:1); the Lord orders the recording angel to go in among the wheels beneath the cherub and there seize glowing coals to scatter across the city (10:2). At this point, the cherubim are on the south of the Temple structure, while the Glory of the Lord is at the threshold (10:3-4). A cherub stretches out his hand, grasps some fire and gives it to the recording angel (10:7); this is followed by a description of the wheels (10:9ff.). The departure is depicted in 10:15ff.: the cherubim rise up (v 15), then the Glory of the Lord leaves the threshold and takes up his place above the cherubim (v 18). This ensemble then removes to the east gate of the Temple complex (v 19), for subsequently to abandon the city and establish itself on the Mount of Olives (11:22-23).

Zimmerli singles out several elements in this narrative as secondary, especially in Ch. 10.[9] He also holds the references to the Glory of the Lord in 8:4 and 9:3 to be uncertain in their present context. I find this opinion difficult to accept, since the mentions of the Glory may well be directed at the people's over-hasty conclusion that "the Lord has forsaken the land" (8:12; 9:9). The expression in 9:3 fits its context perfectly: the Lord arises from his throne in the Temple when passing judgement (cf. Isa 3:13; Ps 74:22; 82:1,8).[9a] God's movement from the Temple through the east gate (10:19) to the Mount of Olives (11:22-23) in fact *begins* when the Glory situates itself at the threshold (9:3). When the *kābôd* abandons its position in the interior of the Temple (10:3), it prepares for the imminent departure, or, in a manner of speaking, it warms the motors up (10:5). The phrase mentioning the cherubim in 10:3-5 contains in v 4 a parenthetic reference to 9:3, which probably should be rendered in the pluperfect: "And the glory of the Lord had gone up..."

Zimmerli thinks also to find in Ch. 10 traces of secondary redaction whose intention is to harmonize an orginal vision in Ch. 10, involving a single cherub, with the vision in Ch. 1, in which the Lord is enthroned above the four living creatures. Zimmerli regards the explicit identifications of the living creatures with the cherubim (10:15,19-20) and of the wheel with the *galgal* (10:13) as redactional signatures. Thus he assumes a basic stratum in Ch. 10–11 which is comprised of 10:2,4,7,18a, 19b and 11:23-25.[10]

My reaction to Zimmerli's proposal is as follows: the context in Ch. 10 describes a visionary experience. We ought probably in principle to

[9] *Zimmerli* (1969: 201-206). Cf. *Keel* (1977: 145-151).

[9a] *F.H. Cryer* (orally) also calls my attention to *A. Schollmeyer*, Sumerisch-Babylonische Hymnen (Paderborn 1912) pp. 29 and 45 where the judges rise to pass judgement.

[10] *Zimmerli* (1969: 206).

allow for a little leeway, that is, for the oscillation between two iconographic concepts, one in which the Lord is mounted upon a single cherub, and another in which there are two or more cherubim. However, there is even some question as to whether such tension is present at all. We should perhaps avoid the temptation to emend *kĕrûb* to *rĕkûb*, "cart" (cf. Ps 104:3) in 9:3 and 10:2,4. However, it would be apposite to point to Ps 18:11, which says of the Lord *wayyirkab ʿal kĕrûb*. As we saw above (Ch. I.4), this phrase does not refer to the Lord as standing upon a cherub, but to his arrival in his cloud chariot. Thus I suggest that the word *kĕrûb* here in the psalm designates the chariot in its entirety. It is impossible to be certain of this, but it seems likely that the same notion is present in Ezek 9:3 and 10:2,4.[11] If this should prove correct, there is no discrepancy between two different iconographic concepts in Ch. 10.

There are, however, discrepancies between Ch. 1 and 10, but these seem to be caused by the fact that these visions take place in two different milieux.[12] In Ch. 1 the scene unfolds at a prayer site by a riverside in Mesopotamia; here the revelation of God's majesty is depicted with the help of an iconographic composition containing features borrowed from Mesopotamian originals (see below). The scene in Ch. 10 is displaced to the Jerusalem Temple and accordingly incorporates a more traditional Israelite iconography connected with the cherubim throne in the Temple. Such considerations make me less than enthusiastic about undertaking literary critical surgery in Ch. 10.

However, completely apart from the diverse evaluations of literary critical details, it is surely the case that 8:1–11:25 describes the departure of the Glory of the Lord from the city. This remains true even if one follows Zimmerli and accepts only a critical minimum of the text.[13] It is also obvious that the *kābôd* and the cherub(im) are closely connected phenomena.

The Vision of the New Temple. – For our purposes it will be sufficient here to be brief. Ezek 43:1-12, which relates the return of the Glory of the Lord and its entrance into the new Temple, belongs to what

[11] *Keel* (1977: 152-158) thinks of one single cherub in the core of Chap. 10 and attempts to illustrate this with the iconographic representations of gods standing on the back of various animals. I find this less probable. – On the attempt made by *Houk* (JBL 90/1971, 51) to explain the "cherub" in the singular in Ezek 9:3; 10:2,4 as due to influence from 10:7 see *Keel* (1977: 149).

[12] Cf. *H. van Dyke Parunak* (JBL 99/1980, 66f., n. 14).

[13] However, *Houk* (JBL 90/1971, 53f.; see below note 35) denies that there was a departure of the Glory in the original core of the text. But this assumption rests on a series of transpositions and excisions that is far from convincing.

we must in any eventuality regard as the core of Ch. 40–48.[14] There is no reason to doubt that this core in fact reflects a visionary experience undergone by the prophet 25 years after the exile of King Jehoiachin (40:1), that is, in 573.

We can then summarize our observations so far. Several scholars have challenged as secondary certain sections of Ezekiel's visions in Ch. 1 and 10, but even so, there is general agreement that *the main lines* of these chapters belong to the authentic nucleus of the book. The analysis of the *kābôd*-theology in Ezekiel would, in other words, not be materially affected even if one proceeded on the basis of the minimal estimate of the materials. However, our examination has shown that the frequently excised sections may well have belonged to the original materials. Bearing in mind the problems discussed here, we shall now press on, hopefully without losing sight of our goal.

1. The Iconography

Keel's work, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst* (1977), provides access to an iconographic analysis of Ezekiel Ch. 1 and 10 which would render a new study in detail superfluous.[15] Thus our task here will be restricted to sketching an outline of the main aspects of Ezekiel's iconography.

As far as the visionary call narrative is concerned – comprised of living creatures, disc-firmament, throne, and throne-occupant – Keel has pointed to a composition in the Mesopotamian graphic tradition which contains the same elements.[16] The fact that there are *four* creatures in Ezekiel, however, is a divergence from this tradition, since the occurrences of the composition in question only have two creatures.[16a] The number four in Ezekiel is related to the notion of the bearers of the firmament, who, however, are not represented in turn as bearing a disc, as in Ezekiel.[17] Thus Ezekiel's vision of his call combines two iconographic concepts in a manner designed powerfully to emphasize God's omnipotence and omnipresence.

The description of the figure on the throne (Ezek 1:26-27) sharply distinguishes between its upper half, which glitters like electrum, and its

[14] See *Zimmerli* (1969: 1240f.).
[15] See *Keel* (1977: 125-273).
[16] *Keel* (1977: 168-177 with ill. nos 108-115).
[16a] *F.H. Cryer* (orally) calls my attention to the four figures in hymnic material published by *Castellino* (OrAnt 8/1969, 15) and *M.E. Cohen* (ZA 1977, 7). See also *Keel* (1977: 247f.).
[17] *Keel* (1977: 207-216; 230-234; 246-250; 269-273, with ill. nos 159-163). – Cf Zech 6:5.

lower half, which glares like fire. This is closely similar to a representation of the god Ashur in his solar disc (Fig. 5);[18] the head and torso of the god exhibit recognizably human features, while his lower parts seem to consist of flaring fire. The figure is surrounded by an aura comparable to the rainbow in Ezekiel 1:28.

Thus the relationship of Ezekiel 1 to Mesopotamian iconography is confirmed; the iconography in Ch. 10, however, is another matter. As we saw above, the text scarcely speaks of the Lord standing above a single cherub, as Keel[19] asserts with reference to the usual motif of a god standing upon an animal, a motif which is well attested in North Syrian, Anatolian and Mesopotamian art. Rather, what Ezekiel sees here is again the chariot throne of the Lord, which in this case has been modelled along the lines of the iconography of the Jerusalem Temple. The creatures which appeared in Ch. 1 as humanoid bearers of the heavens appear in Ch. 10 as the well known sphinx cherubim of the Temple.

Both in Ch. 1 and 10, God's throne is a central motif; the God of Ezekiel is the enthroned King of the Zion-Sabaoth theology. However,

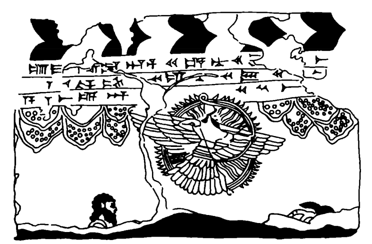


Fig. 5. Ashur in his solar disc. Fragment of brick, h. 0.28 m., w. 0.46 m. Ashur. Tukulti-Ninurta II, c. 890–884 B.C. London, British Museum, 115 706.

[18] Published by *W. Andrae* (1923 pl. 8, discussion p. 13). Cf. *van Buren* (1945: 95f.), *Zimmerli* (1969: 56), *Mendenhall* (1973: 32-56, esp. pp. 43-53) and *Keel* (1977: 260-263).
[19] *Keel* (1977: 152-158).

the vision in Ch. 1 is introduced in a way that is unmistakably related to the theophanic tradition:

> As I looked, behold, a stormy wind [*rûaḥ sᵉʿārâ*] came out of the north [*ṣāpôn*], and a great cloud, with brightness round about it, and fire flashing forth continually... (Ezek 1:4)

The term *sᵉʿārâ* is also used elsewhere to designate the theophanic cloud (Isa 29:6; Jer 23:19; 30:23; Zech 9:14; Job 38:1; 40:6).

Now, there is one feature in particular in Ezekiel 1 and 10 which is well suited, like the advent of the cloud, to emphasize God's mobility, namely the description of the wheels (1:15-21; 10:9-17). Earlier scholarship preferred to regard these texts as secondary additions;[20] the question is whether this judgement does justice to the close connexion between the cloud (wind) and the chariot in a number of texts. Ps 104:3 is a case in point: "who makest the clouds thy chariot." Ps 77:19 reads, "the crash of thy thunder was in the *galgal*". Here *galgal*, "wheel", is to be understood as *pars pro toto* for the chariot (cf. Ezek 26:10).[20a] Such expressions make it meaningful to speak of the theophanic cloud chariot of the Lord. This sort of connexion is also attested by Zech 6:1-8, where the four chariots which emerge from the gate of heaven (v 1) are clearly identified as the four winds (v 5).[21] Finally, we should also adduce 2 Kgs 2:11, which mentions the chariot of fire and the whirlwind *(sᵉʿārâ)* which carries Elijah up to heaven.

These examples indicate a factual connexion between the depiction of the theophanic cloud in Ezek 1:4 and the description of the wheels of the throne in 1:15-21. The representation of *the throne as a chariot* must be an indication of the significance to Ezekiel of *the theophanic tradition*, something that seems to have been unduly neglected in previous studies. The throne-chariot is further attested in a number of later texts.[21a]

By way of summary, we may draw two conclusions concerning Ezekiel's iconography: (a) The conception of the enthroned God is central. This idea is given form in Ch. 1 by approximation to a Mesopotamian motif, and in Ch. 10 by linkage with the iconography of the Jerusalem Temple. (b) The idea of static presence implicit in the throne conception is combined with the dynamic parousia implicit in the

[20] See for instance *Sprank* (1926: 52ff.; 56ff.) and *Zimmerli* (1969: 27-29; 203). Cf. *Keel* (1977: 150).
[20a] *Jörg Jeremias* (²1977: 26 n. 3).
[21] See *Christian Jeremias* (1977: 30-33; 122-125)
[21a] See for instance Ezek 43:3 (LXX); 1 Chr 28:18; Dan 7:9; Sir 49:8; *Apoc. Mos* 33; *Apoc. Abr.* 18; and the angelic liturgy from Qumran, published by *Strugnell* (VTSup 7/1960, 318-345, text pp. 336f.). On the throne chariot see especially *Scholem* (1955: 40-79) and most recently *Gruenwald* (1980) and *Marböck* (BZ 25/1981, 109-111).

concept of the theophany. The theophanic cloud functions as God's vehicle in the introduction to the visionary narrative of Ezekiel's call; closer examination shows the throne to be equipped with wheels. Accordingly, if the Temple is conceived of as the normal site of the revelation of the Glory of the Lord, this does not entail a confinement of God's presence to Zion alone nor a limitation on his freedom of movement.

The throne conception is thus of paramount importance in Ezekiel. In this respect the book has close ties with the Zion tradition. However, the occupant of the throne is no longer called *YHWH ṣĕbā'ôt*, the original designation of the Lord of the cherubim throne. Rather, in the Priestly tradition as represented by Ezekiel, the place of honour on the throne has been given to the Glory of the Lord, his *kābôd*. The situation of the *kābôd* above the creatures/cherubim is evident in a number of passages (Ezek 3:12-13; 9:3; 10:4,18,19,20; 11:22). In other words, the term *kābôd* assumes spatially the position once occupied by the Sabaoth designation in older theology!

There are grounds for comparing Ezekiel with the P-materials of the Pentateuch. The *kābôd* is linked with the sanctuary in the P-materials as well, though this refers to the Priestly Tabernacle. However, the *kābôd* does not reign upon a cherubim throne in P, for, as we noted, this concept was eventually dropped (Ch. III.A.2.1.). Thus without arriving at any final conclusions regarding the specific age of the P-materials, it is not difficult to conclude that the *kābôd* concept in Ezekiel is closer to the enthroned God of the Zion-Sabaoth theology than is the idea represented by the P-materials. Our observations here provide a clue which suggests that the roots of the *kābôd* theology may be followed via Ezekiel back to the Zion-Sabaoth theology; we shall return to this presently.

2. The Presence of the Divine Kabod.

1. From Divine Attribute to Divine Name

Kābôd[22] is used in Ezekiel as a central theological term in texts where visual contact with God is important. At the same time the frequent use of words like *dĕmût*, "likeness", *mareh*, "appearance", and *tabnît*,

[22] On the various aspects of the use of *kābôd* in the Old Testament see *von Gall* (1900), *Caspari* (1908), *H. Kittel* (1934, esp. pp. 135-163), *von Rad* (TWNT 2/1935, 240-245), *Stein* (1939), *Rendtorff* (²1963: 28-32), *Westermann* (FsEichrodt, 1970: 227-249, *idem*, THAT 1/1971, 794-812). For further literature see TWNT 10:2 pp. 1053-1055.

"form".[23] serve the same purpose as the smoke and the train of the mantle in Isaiah's throne-vision: to obscure God from human sight.

The term *kābôd* denoted a divine attribute in pre-exilic times; thus certain texts refer to *melek hakkābôd* (Ps 24:7-10), and to *ʾēl hakkābôd* (Ps 29:3), and correspondingly speak of *kĕbôd ʾēl* (Ps 19:2). The word has the same semantic function, that is, as a divine attribute, in the exhortations to ascribe glory to the Lord (Pss 29:1,2; 96:7-8). However, the word has suffered a semantic "condensation" in the Priestly tradition. While it once described what Scholastic theology meant by divine accidence, *kābôd* now designates God himself. Thus Ezekiel attests the development from divine attribute to divine name. He conceives of the Glory of the Lord as both speaking and acting; for example, the *kābôd* speaks in Ezek 9:3-7; 43:6-11; 44:4-5.[24] Further, the word is the subject of verbs of motion;[25] and finally, there are passages where the context requires an implicit identification of the *kābôd* with God himself.[26]

In the question of the denotation of the word as used by Ezekiel, we should be aware of a certain ambiguity. Several passages make a clear distinction between the *kābôd* and the throne beneath God. This is the case when the texts describe the *kābôd* as located above the cherubim (Ezek 10:19; 11:22), or when it simply abandons the chariot throne (Ezek 9:3; 10:4). Here the *kābôd* functions as a name of God.

In other passages, however, *kābôd* is conceived of as referring to the complete manifestation of divine majesty, both to the chariot-throne and to God himself.[27] The phrase, "such was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord" (1:28) is more or less a colophon which summarizes the entire vision (vv 4-28). The same broad denotation seems to be implied in 43:2, when the sound of the approaching Glory is apparently the sound of the wings of the living creatures (cf. 1:24) that bear the throne; 3:23, 8:4, and 11:23 are also amenable to this interpretation.

To compare with the P-materials: here *kābôd* has only a narrow denotation. The cherubim and the mercy seat are never included, whereas this is sometimes the case in Ezekiel. The question thus arising is whether Ezekiel is not on this point closer to the older use uf *kābôd* as a divine attribute (see further below, Ch. IV.A). If this is the case, then

[23] For *dĕmût* see Ezek 1:5,10,13,16,22,26; 8:2; 10:1,10,21,22. For *marʾeh* see Ezek 1:13,16,27,28; 8:2,4; 10:22; 40:3; 43:3, and for *tabnît* see Ezek 8:3; 10:8.

[24] In Ezek 9:4 and 44:5 the word *YHWH* should be deleted, see BHSapp and *Zimmerli (ad loc.)*.

[25] See Ezek 3:12 *(text. emend.)*: 9:3; 10:4; 10:18; 43:2,4.

[26] See Ezek 10:19-20 and compare 43:2,4 with 44:2.

[27] Cf. for instance *Westphal* (1908: 196) and *Zimmerli* (1969: 58). *Stein* (1939: 268f.) objects to such an interpretation.

we find in Ezekiel the development which underlies the use of *kābôd* in the P-materials, that is, from being the designation of a divine attribute the word is becoming a name for God; its denotation tranforms itself from wide to narrow.

If this assumption is correct, then Ezekiel is closer to the old theology than is P on two points: (a) We do find examples in his use of *kābôd* in which the word has a broad denotation. (b) Ezekiel is a witness to the persistence of the throne conception, which is no longer present in P.

2. The Connexions with the Zion Temple

When Ezekiel sees in his visionary call narrative how "a stormy wind came out of the north" (cf. Job 37:22), this should not be used to negate the rather unambiguous passages in his other visions which point to a localization of the Glory to the Jerusalem Temple as the normal state of affairs. The omnipresence of God indicated by the four firmament-bearers in Ch. 1 is complementary, rather than contradictory, to his immanence in the Temple (cf. above, Ch. I.4).

The second of Ezekiel's "visions of God" (Ch. 8–11) unquestionably presupposes that the Temple is the dwelling of God. When the worshippers of the sun god turn towards the east, and thereby turn their backs on the Temple, they are guilty of lèse-majesté in respect of the Lord who is present in the Temple (8:16). Thus the departure of the Glory from the Temple is an ostentatious declaration that the people's sin makes impossible the presence of God (8:5-18; cf. 5:11; 7:22).

So, the Glory abandons the sanctuary; in his vision, Ezekiel follows the Glory to its various way-stations. From its original situation in the inner sanctum, the *kābôd* moves to the threshold (9:3), and thereafter to the east gate of the Temple complex (10:19), and ultimately abandons both Temple and city. Here we should observe that the *kābôd* nevertheless remains on the earth; moreover, the *kābôd* does not go into exile (contrast 1 Sam 4:21-22), but remains in the country. The final destination of the Glory is the Mount of Olives (Ezek 11:22-25).

The third of Ezekiel's "visions of God" (Ch. 40–48) brings this progression full circle; here the Glory enters into the new Temple by the same route it had used during its departure, that is, via the east gate (43:1-5). The announcement of the Glory to the prophet that, "this is the place of my throne and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell [*šākan*] in the midst of the people of Israel for ever" (43:7; cf. v 9), represents no radical innovation. After a parenthetical hiatus, God has merely returned to his dwelling of old. Here God's express intention to continue permanently to dwell in his Temple is poignantly formulated: the Lord decrees that the gate through which he had departed is to

be closed and will remain shut (44:1-2). Thus there will be reasons for naming the city, "The Lord is there" (48:35).

The description of the entrance of the Glory into the new Temple utilizes older conceptions belonging to the Zion tradition. Ps 24 speaks of how the King of Glory *(melek hakkābôd)* enters into his new Temple and takes possession of it; Ezek 43:1-5 and Exod 40:34-38 are merely late variations on the same theme, a theme which also echoes about in other rather late expressions (1 Kgs 8:11; 2 Chr 5:14; 7:1-3; Hag 2:7).

Ezekiel's adherence to the Zion tradition is also evident in Ezek 20:32-44. Here we find a theological pattern strongly reminiscent of the Song of the Sea in Exod 15:1-18. From the new Exodus and desert wandering there runs a straight line in the Ezekiel text to the Temple mountain and royal presence of God (vv 34-35; 40; cf. v 33). This Zion-theological pattern from Exodus 15 seems to recur in the Priestly traditions in both Ezekiel 20 and Exodus 29.[27a]

Thus our general conclusion is necessarily that the presence of God in the sanctuary is in Ezekiel of the same nature as that expressed in the Zion-Sabaoth theology: the Temple on Zion is envisioned as the site of the continuous presence of God; it is there he sits enthroned above the cherubim.

It is accordingly an interesting question as to why Ezekiel declines to use the established terminology for the God who thrones in the Temple, that is, the Sabaoth designation. It is hardly surprising that this designation is a rarity in the Deuteronomistic literature, since the D-Work breaks decisively with the idea of God's being enthroned on the earth; this is not, however, the case with Ezekiel.

I believe the solution to this problem is as follows: the Sabaoth designation had a well-established connexion with the Promise to Zion, the assurance of God's presence in and protection of his capital city (Ps 46:5-8; cf. Zech 12:5). However, in Ezekiel it is important to emphasize that he who sits enthroned above the cherubim in the Temple is fully prepared to abandon his city to hostile powers (Ch. 8–11; cf. 7:22). Thus he subjects the doctrine of the Presence to a qualified but decisive modification which explains why it was possible for an enemy to subdue Jerusalem: God abandons his dwelling because of the people's sin. It would accordingly have been anomalous, perhaps even theologically inconsistent, to use the Sabaoth designation of the God who abandons his city in this fashion.

On the other hand, Ezekiel found in the *kābôd* a term which it was possible to exploit in this context; the preference for *kābôd* instead of

[27a] On Exod 15:1-18 see above Chap. II.D.2.2 and on Exod 29:45-46 see Chap. III.A.2.3.

YHWH ṣĕbā'ôt thus seems to have been grounded in special connotations associated with this word. We shall return to this below (Ch. IV.A).

Ezekiel's vision of how the Glory of God abandons his Temple and his city establishes a connexion between him and earlier prophets who had underlined the conditionality of God's presence among his people. Such figures as Micah (3:5-12) and Jeremiah, as represented by his great Temple speech (7:1-15; 26:1-9), belong to this select group.

The relationship between the Glory of the Lord and Zion is not only attested in Ezekiel; it also has echoes in a variety of texts.[28] Among these, certain passages in Zechariah exhibit a close relationship to Ezekiel; this is above all the case in the third night vision (Zech 2:5-9, 10-17).[29] In this section the promise is pronounced that Jerusalem will no longer require a defensive rampart:

> For I will be to her a wall of fire round about,
> says the Lord, and I will be the glory within her.
> (Zech 2:9; RSV 2:4)

The context informs us that, after having fled his capital city (Ezek 8−11), the Lord again begins to dwell in it. The phrase describing the Lord as a "wall of fire" around Jerusalem may have points of contact with the Paradise tradition, where we read of the "flaming sword" (Gen 3:24).[30] However, the question is whether the radiant aura surrounding the manifestation of God's majesty in Ezek 1:28 has not been of greater importance; when the Glory renews its dwelling in the city, the presence of the divine majesty simultaneously becomes the guarantee of its security.

The expectation of a renewed divine presence is given emblematical solidity in Zechariah's vision of the golden lampstand between the two olive trees (Zech 4:1-6a, 10b-14). As Keel[31] has demonstrated, the symbolism of this vision is to be interpreted on the basis of iconographic compositions attested by cylinder seals from Mesopotamia and Syro-Palestine (Fig. 6).[31a] On these we find a small podium on which a staff supporting a horizontal crescent moon (occasionally a solar symbol) has been erected; this emblem is flanked by two trees, which are sometimes

[28] Isa 4:5 (perhaps an early instance); 24:23; 60:1-2; 66:18-19; Zech 2:9; Ps 26:8; (85:10 about *kābôd* in the country); 102:17. Note in particular the texts about *kābôd* filling the sanctuary: Exod 40:34-38, 1 Kgs 8:11; Ezek 43:1-5; 44:4; Hag 2:7; 2 Chr 5:14; 7:1-3.

[29] On this see *Christian Jeremias* (1977: 164-176). As Jeremias points out, there is a close connexion with Ezekiel 40−48. Compare for instance Zech 2:5 with Ezek 40:3.

[30] *Chr. Jeremias* (1977: 174).

[31] *Keel* (1977: 274-320).

[31a] Published by *Moortgat* (1940 no. 679). Cf. Keel (1977: 289 no. 6; ill. no. 212).

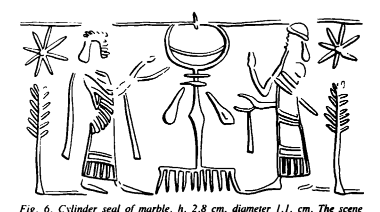


Fig. 6. Cylinder seal of marble, h. 2.8 cm, diameter 1.1. cm. The scene depicts a divine emblem with a moon crescent. On its left and right side priest and king. The scene is flanked by two trees stylized as two ears of grain. From private collection, now in Berlin, VA 581.

stylized as two ears of grain. The trees symbolize the two trees at the gate of heaven; thus this prophetic vision refers to the historical situation of the Exile: the lampstand represents the Lord himself, while the lamps stand for his eyes (vv 2, 10b). By situating this emblem between the two trees, the vision announces that the Lord has positioned himself at the gate of heaven,[32] the place where the sun rises. The Lord will reveal himself again after a period of darkness and silence (cf. Zech 1:11). Thus the prophet announces his assurance of a new period which will enjoy the divine presence.[33]

The term *kābôd* does not occur in this passage; however, just as in Ezekiel's "visions of God", in which the prophet beholds the Glory of the Lord, the light symbolism in Zechariah assumes centrality in a vision which proclaims a time when God will dwell in his Temple anew.[34]

C. The Kabod Theology and the Destruction of the Temple

We find in the centre of Ezekiel's proclamation of judgement his account of how the Lord surrenders the Temple and delivers Jerusalem

[32] Cf. Zech 6:1, where the gate of heaven is referred to as the two mountains, from between which the four chariots come forth.
[33] *Keel* (1977: 315).
[34] Cf. Zech 2:9, where *kābôd* is used.

to judgement. But towards the end of his prophetic career, Ezekiel also found occasion to proclaim the hope that the Lord would return to his sanctuary. In these visions of God, *kābôd* has assumed the place occupied by the Sabaoth designation in the classical Zion-Sabaoth theology.

Zechariah (active c. 520-518) represents the same stream of tradition as Ezekiel, and central to his proclamation is the hope that, after having deserted the city, God will ultimately return to it.[34a] Interestingly, the term *kābôd* occurs relatively infrequently in Zechariah, in fact only twice (2:9,12). Instead, Zechariah's preaching that God is on the verge of returning to Zion harks back to the "classical" terminology. Thus the Sabaoth designation occurs not less than 44 times in Zech 1–8!

These elementary observations concerning the distribution of the terms in question indicate that the *kābôd* theology seems to have been found relevant and thus flourished during the Exile. It is accordingly important to note that this theology cannot be understood as a retrospective rationalization after the disaster. Ezekiel's three "visions of God" may be dated from the exile of King Jehoiachin as follows:

(a) fifth year, that is, 593 (Ezek 1:2)
(b) sixth year, that is, 592 (Ezek 8:1)
(c) twenty-fifth year, that is, 573 (Ezek 40:1).

The year 597 is an obvious reference point for this chronology. However, the prophet makes no attempt theologically to explain the conquest of the city and ransacking of the Temple at this time. On the contrary, the prophet is more concerned with the future. The scope of the second of Ezekiel's great visions, dated to 592, is the approaching judgement of the city; the advent of this judgement can be followed successively in the book (Ezek 21:23-37; 24:15-27; 33:21-22).[35]

Comparison between Ezekiel and the D-Work would, naturally, be appropriate. Ezekiel speaks of the coming judgement of Jerusalem, whereas the already elapsed catastrophe is the focus of the D-Work. The fundamental dilemma in both works is the same: there is cognitive dissonance between the ancient theology of the presence and the disaster which is either imminent or has occurred.

[34a] Zech 2:5-9,10-17; 4:1-6a,10b-14; 8:3. On the hope for restoration in Zechariah see *B. Halpern* (CBQ 40/1978, 167-190) and cf. above Chap. III.B.2.2 at the end.

[35] *Houk* (JBL 90/1971, 52-54) believes that an original altar vision, consisting of Ezek 10:2-3, 4bc,6-7 had its place after 9:2 but was later transposed to its present situation, a transposition that caused the insertion of 9:3a. This original core did not include the departure of the Glory in 11:22-25. – I find this series of assumptions unwarranted.

This dilemma is resolved in Ezekiel on the *temporal* plane by means of the idea of a temporary hiatus in the presence of God; the Glory of the Lord abandons the Temple and the city, but only for a while. When the Glory eventually enters through the east gate of the new Temple, this gate is to be closed once and for all (Ezek 44:1-2); once again, this is a poignant expression of the permanence of the Presence.

The same theological problem is tackled in the D-Work on the *spatial* plane; here God is "relocated" from the Temple to "the heavens above". According to the D-Work, the only thing present in the Temple is God's Name.

It is consequently imperative to investigate how the P-materials fit into this picture. The date of this stratum in the Pentateuch is a serious problem,[36] though in scholarly discussion the time of the Exile has become an increasingly attractive possibility.[37] The present study has found no reason to question this date. Ezekiel and P are both exponents of a common Priestly tradition, though P's *kābôd* theology appears to be a more advanced development than that propounded by Ezekiel. Ezekiel is closer to the old Zion-Sabaoth theology on several points: (a) As the iconography shows, the throne concept is still valuable to Ezekiel, while it is still present in P only as a terminological survival *(kappōret)*. (b) Corresponding to his throne concept, the *kābôd* in Ezekiel is humanoid (Ezek 1:26-27), which is no longer the case in P. (c) Moreover, *kābôd* is employed in Ezekiel both in a narrow sense, in which the word refers to the divine being on the throne, *and* in a broader sense corresponding to older usage (see below, Ch. IV.A), while P knows only the narrow denotation. (d) Finally, the presence of God in the Zion Temple is theologically central to Ezekiel. The Priestly Tabernacle theology also accords the Glory its proper place in the sanctuary, but the Temple mountain is no longer significant; rather, the Glory of the Lord leads the people of God on their journey from campsite to campsite.

It would not be unreasonable to regard these distinctions as arising

[36] See *Levine* (IDBSup 683-687) and the standard introductions.

[37] A few scholars of the Kaufmann tradition argue for a pre-exilic date, thus *Hurvitz* (RB 81/1974, 24-56) and *Haran* (1978: 5-9; 146-148 and *passim*). The linguistic observations made by the former make a late post-exilic date very improbable but may well be consonant with an exilic composition. – *Jepsen* (ZAW 47/1929, 251-255) pointed to the building of the second temple as the climax of the Priestly chronology, a view which lends support to the dating of P with reference to the year 515 B.C. *Eissfeldt* (1965: 207f.) argues for the sixth or fifth century B.C. *Kapelrud* (ASTI 3/1964, 58-64) and *Cross* (1973:323-325) both find a date between Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah most probable. *Brueggemann* (ZAW 84/1972, 397-414) finds the central *kerygma* of P in the blessing (Gen 1:28 etc.), which he understands as a promise of restoration to the exiles. In his discussion of late Biblical Hebrew *Polzin* discusses the language of P (1976: 85-122, cf. 167-170) and arrives at a typological pattern in which the language of P stands between that of the DtrH and that of the Chronicler (p. 112).

from different historical situations. In Ezekiel, the luminous phenomena associated with the Glory are to be seen against the twilit background of his historical situation. Nonetheless, the Jerusalem Temple still existed when Ezekiel received his first visions in 593 and 592. In the Priestly *kābôd* theology in the Pentateuch, the destruction of the Temple in 586 is already a thing of the past; the people are in exile, but their hopes are directed towards a future restoration.[38]

Summary

(1) We discovered a thorough-going break with the ancient Zion-Sabaoth theology in the Deuteronomistic Name theology; here God was "relocated" from the Temple to the heavens. Against this, the *kābôd* theology may in principle be regarded as a restatement of the Zion-Sabaoth theology, since according to the *kābôd* theology it is God who dwells in his sanctuary. In Ezekiel, the Zion Temple is God's usual dwelling place, and the P-materials also link the *kābôd* with the sanctuary, although the latter is depicted as being mobile. The immanence of God is thus the fundamental characteristic of the presence conception of the *kābôd* theology, while the concept of God's mobility in this theology is an important departure from the Zion tradition.

(2) In addition to the Zion-Sabaoth theology in its narrow sense, we must also reckon with influences of another sort. The theophanic tradition (cf. Ch. I.4, and below, Ch. IV.A) plays an important role in Ezekiel. It was probably this tradition which enabled the throne to become a chariot. However, the theophanic tradition in the narrow sense of the term (Ch. IV n. 6) plays no real part in the P-materials in the Pentateuch. Instead, the old Tent tradition is a major source for the Tabernacle theology, although the latter did not assimilate the conception of the divine descent (vb. *yārad*), which was a leading feature of the Tent tradition.

(3) Iconographic analysis turned out to be useful for the study of the *kābôd* theology. Ezekiel had recourse to both Mesopotamian and Jerusalemite models. The conception of the throne of God is central to the visions experienced by Ezekiel; the Glory of the Lord is normally located according to the prophet above the creatures/cherubim.

Further, the roots of the iconography of the Priestly Tabernacle were traced to the Zion Temple. In the P-materials we find both the Ark and

[38] One should also note that the divine designation *ʾělōhê yiśrāʾēl*, which is frequent in Dtr literature (above Chap. II.A.2 note 51), occurs a number of times in Ezekiel's "visions of God" (Ezek 8:4; 9:3; 10:19,20; 11:22; 43:2; 44:2) but only once in the P-material (Num 16:9).

the cherubim, but they no longer make up the throne of God. The throne conception had by this time become irrelevant, and perhaps even burdensome. This would be intelligible if the Tabernacle theology was developed during the Exile.

Although he makes use of the throne conception, Ezekiel declines to use the Sabaoth designation. The most likely explanation for this fact is the supposition that God's abandonment of his city to an enemy had made the designation unusable; *kābôd*, however, turned out to be a reasonable designation for the God who both leaves and returns to his city. The prophet Zechariah, however, who proclaims that the Lord is on the verge of returning to Zion (2:14f.; 8:3), harks back to "classical" terminology and frequently uses the Sabaoth designation (44 times).

(4) *Yāšab* is not used as a theological term for expressing the presence of God in either Ezekiel or the P-materials. The verb *šākan*, which is only used twice of God in Ezekiel (43:7,9), enjoys great frequency in P; this verb lacks the semantic component "to sit (enthroned)", and was thus appropriate to a theology in which the throne conception had become meaningless. – The verb *šākan* by no means expresses the notion that the Presence is arbitrary or conditional.

(5) From a semantic point of view we ought to distinguish between an original use of *kābôd* as a divine attribute designating God's power and majesty, and a younger development according to which it is virtually a divine name. In Ezekiel, we find indications of the original usage, inasmuch as *kābôd* has a broad denotation in certain cases and includes both God and his chariot throne (Ezek 1:28; 3:23; 8:4; 11:23; 43:2). However, the prevalent usage in Ezekiel and the P-materials refers exclusively to God himself.[39]

The development laid bare in this chapter can be represented as follows:

	the Sabaoth theology	**Ezekiel**	**the P-materials**
throne concept	+	+	0
yāšab	+	0	0
Sabaoth designation	+	0	0
use of *kābôd*	divine attribute	divine attribute divine name	divine name

[39] Two works appeared too late to be taken into account in the present study, namely *F.M. Cross*, The Priestly tabernacle in the light of recent research, in A. Biran, ed., Temples and high places in Biblical times, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 169-180, and *E. Vogt*, Untersuchungen zum Buch Ezechiel (AnBib 95), Rome 1981.

CHAPTER IV

The Name and the Glory: Theological Tradition and Semantic Connotations

We posed four questions in the introduction to this study, three of which we have answered above. (1) We have indicated which conceptions of the presence of God in the sanctuary were attached to the notions of God's *šēm* and *kābôd* in the Deuteronomistic and Priestly streams of tradition, respectively. (2) Moreover, we have shown how these conceptions were related, both positively and negatively, to the ancient Zion-Sabaoth theology. (3) We have made it probable that the events of 597 and 586 B.C. were of some importance for the formation of the *šēm* and *kābôd* theologies.

We have accordingly carried out the main tasks of this investigation. However, one question remains, and it is by no means the easiest one: In searching for designations with which to replace the Sabaoth designation, what factors determined the suitability of *šēm* and *kābôd*? It would seem that these two words had connotations which made them attractive alternatives to the Sabaoth designation. There is the further question of whether the use of these terms in rather special contexts of tradition endowed them with connotations, supplementary values, which made them worthwhile objects of investment. Here we stand at the nexus of semantics and tradition-history, but it cannot be our task in this concluding essay to offer a complete investigation of the semantics of *šēm* and *kābôd*.[1] Rather, our task here is more restricted: to find out what connotations, developed in earlier usage, made *kābôd* the central term of the Priestly theology, and *šēm* the corresponding key term of the Deuteronomistic tradition.

A. The Choice of *kābôd* by the Priestly Theology

In Ezekiel, the *kābôd*-conception proved to represent an earlier phase than that discovered in the P-materials; the former usage is accordingly

[1] On the semantics of *kābôd* see the literature mentioned above in Chap. III.B note 22, on that of *šēm* see *Giesebrecht* (1901), *B. Jacob* (1903), *Grether* (1934: 1-58; 159-185), *McBride* (1969) and *van der Woude* (THAT 2/1976, 935-963 with further literature). See also TWNT Literaturnachtrag (TWNT 10:2 pp. 1202f.).

the point of departure for this part of our study. Our examination of Ezekiel led to a couple of observations which will be pertinent here: (a) *kābôd* is used in Ezekiel as an element in a theology exhibiting a close relationship with the Zion tradition. The Zion Temple, for example, is the usual dwelling of God. Further, the iconography of Ezekiel bears clear witness to the idea of God's royal presence in the sanctuary. (b) In contradistinction to the Sabaoth designation, *kābôd* was clearly suitable to describe the God who became mobile and abandoned Jerusalem. Bearing these two observations in mind, we shall now attempt to uncover the earlier use of *kābôd* which made possible its usage in Ezekiel and the P-materials.

The choice of *kĕbôd YHWH* as a designation for the enthroned God can scarcely be divorced from its previously established usage in royal contexts. Royal overtones are thus often present when we hear of human *kābôd* (Pss 8:6; 21:6; Job 19:9).

Corresponding theological use of *kābôd* in connexion with the kingship of God is also well attested.[1a] When God makes his triumphal progress into the Temple, for example, he is appropriately referred to as *melek hakkābôd*, "the king of Glory" (Ps 24:7-10). The fact that this represents ancient usage is evident in Ps 29, where we encounter the variant *ʾēl hakkābôd* (Ps 29:3); this psalm also uses *kābôd* in conjunction with the acclamation of God as King (vv 1,2,9). This usage is certainly derived from Canaanite practice, since the root *k-b-d* occurs in the Ugaritic texts precisely in formulations referring to the homage paid before El's throne.[2] Unsurprisingly, the use of *kābôd* in conjunction with the kingship of God is also attested in the *YHWH-mālak* psalms, where the word occurs in acclamations of God's sovereignty (Ps 96:7-8; cf. 96:3 and 97:6). Other examples of *kābôd* in connexion with God described as king are found in Ps 145 (vv 5,11,12).

We should also mention a few passages in the prophetic literature. It will hardly have been accidental that the seraphim in Isaiah's vision of the enthroned God sing of God's *kābôd* (Isa 6:3). We also find the expression *kissēʾ kābôd* in a few passages i Jeremiah (Jer 14:21; 17:12).[3] This is surely an adjectival use of the status constructus,[4] and

[1a] Cf. *W.H. Schmidt* (1961: 21) and *Stein* (1939: 307-317).

[2] The root in question is used about paying homage to El: *KTU* 1.6.I.38 = *CUL* 6.1.38[49.1.10]; *KTU* 1.4.IV.26 = *CUL* 4[51].4.26; and about paying homage to other gods. *KTU* 1.4.VIII.28-29 = *CUL* 4[51].8.28-29; *KTU* 1.17.V.20 = *CUL* 17[2 AQHT].5.20; *KTU* 1.17.V.30 = *CUL* 17[2 AQHT].5.30; KTU 1.3.III.10 = 3[ʿNT].3.7; *KTU* 1.3.VI.20 = *CUL* 3[ʿNT.VI].6.20.

[3] On this expression cf. *Caspari* (1908: 136f.) and *Stein* (1939: 99-101). It occurs in later literature as well, see *Theisohn* (1975: 68-98).

[4] Cf. *GKC* § 128p.

the "profane" examples of the same expression (1 Sam 2:8; Isa 22:23; cf. Jer 48:18) suggest the meaning "place of honour", or "high seat". This secular usage prevents us from reading the specialized theological sense present in *kĕbôd YHWH* in Priestly tradition into the passages in Jeremiah. Nevertheless, the linkage between Zion and the Lord as King *is* clearly attested in Jeremiah (8:19), which does suggest that *kissēʾ kābôd* has royal connotations when used of the Temple mountain.

This use of *kābôd* in conjunction with the kingship of God represents a linguistic usage which was cultivated in the milieu of the Temple. Now that we have seen how deeply Ezekiel was rooted in the Jerusalem cultic tradition, his use of *kābôd* may be seen to be merely another indication of how his theological conceptual structure was organized.[5]

It is perhaps possible to be even more precise than this. Among the occurrences of the theological use of *kābôd*, a few are attested in which the word occurs in conjunction with a theophany.[6] Now, a hypothetical connexion between Ezekiel and the theophanic tradition would not associate the prophet with a different theological milieu than that of the Temple, since, as we have seen, the Temple theology of pre-exilic Jerusalem embraced not only the Zion tradition with its enthroned King, but also the theophanic tradition with its coming Lord (see above, Ch. I.4). Both of these aspects belong squarely within the framework of the Temple theology, and are to be regarded as complementary to each other. – Let us look at the evidence for *kābôd* in theophany contexts.

Ps 29:3 exhibits a very ancient attestation of *kābôd* in connexion with a theophany, where we find the expression *ʾēl hakkābôd*: "the God of Glory thunders". It is conceivable that *kābôd* was used here with the thundercloud in mind (cf. *ʿānān kābēd* in Exod 19:16, and *bārād kābēd* in Exod 9:18), since meteorological phenomena play an important part in the theophanies. The heavy cloud, plus thunder and lightning are

[5] Cf. *Rendtorff* (²1963: 29f.).

[6] *Westermann* (1953: 65-72) makes a terminological distinction between epiphany and theophany. With the former term Westermann refers to accounts where God's coming, the cosmic effects of this, and his divine aid to his people are found (cf. Judg 5:4-5; Ps 18:8-16 etc.). In a theophany the purpose is divine communication through a mediator to the cultic community (cf. Exodus 19). – This distinction has been criticized by *Ahlström* (1971: 83-85) and *Mann* (1977: 6). In agreement with *Jörg Jeremias* (²1977: 1-2; cf. pp. 100ff.) I have not found reasons to adopt Westermann's differentiation. I use the term "theophany" about both of Westermann's two types, but speaking of "theophany proper" I refer to the type found in Judg 5:4-5 where God's coming is important (cf. above Ch. I.4).

The use of the word *kābôd* in descriptions of theophanies has previously been noted by *Caspari* (1908: 108), *Mowinckel* (1927: 124), *Riesenfeld* (1947: 97-114), *Morgenstern* (VT 10/1960, 159-161, 179, 183-197) and *Ringgren* (1969: 194).

frequently recurring features of the descriptions of the appearance of the Lord.[7]

Exod 33:18-23 is another significant context. Here Moses requests to see the *kābôd* of God, who replies that he will allow all his beauty to pass by in review (*ʾaʿăbîr kol-ṭûbî*, v 19). Moreover, Moses is to be stationed in a cleft in the rock while the Lord's *kābôd* passes by (*baʿăbōr kĕbōdî*, v 22). The experience underlying this passage is probably inaccessible to exegetical methodology. Should we inquire as to the function of the text during its lengthy process of tradition, von Rad's suggestion seems attractive. He regards the passage in question as a cult aetiology, in that it legitimates the rite through which one obtained a theophany, or a substitute for such a rite.[8] The connexion between *kābôd* and the cultic theophany in the passage would seem to support this view; it is further sustained by the fact that two of the key terms in this section also appear in passages in the Psalter which refer to beholding God in the Temple. Thus Ps 63:3 speaks of viewing God's *kābôd* in the sanctuary, and Ps 27:13 speaks of seeing God's *ṭûb* in the land of the living (cf. 27:4: to see the *nōʿam* of God).

Kābôd also occurs in the context of a theophany in Ps 97, which adheres to the classical pattern of the thunder-theophany: God goes forth surrounded by cloud and mist (*ʿānān waʿărāpel*); fire proceeds from him and devours his enemies; his lightnings illuminate the earth, and the mountains melt like wax (vv 2-5). The passage concludes on the phrase, "And all the peoples behold his *kābôd*" (v 6). Here the word *kābôd* seems to be used as a summary description of the theophany in the preceding verses, that is, as a comprehensive term for the royal apparel of God, which is composed of cloud, fire, and lightning.

Seen in this light, Ps 97 suggests a similar interpretation of Isa 6:3. Here it is conceivable that the expression *mĕlōʾ kol-hāʾāreṣ kĕbôdô* implies that the entire beauty of Creation makes up the garment of God's majesty: "the whole earth is his *kābôd*." This is appropriate dress for the heavenly King who is so enormous that the Temple does not suffice even to provide room for the train of his garments (v 1) (see above, Ch. 1).

It is frequently assumed that there was a ritual actualization of the theophany during Temple worship.[9] This supposition is congruent with

[7] Features of a thunderstorm are found, for instance, in the following theophanies: Judg 5:4-5; Ps 18:8-16; 29; 77:18-19; 97:2-5; cf. Job 37.
[8] *G. von Rad* (Ges Stud I, [2]1961: 239).
[9] See, for instance, *von Rad (loc. cit.)*, *Weiser* (FsBertholet 1950: 513-531, esp. p. 523), *Beyerlin* (1961: 153-164, cf. pp. 33-42) and *H.-P. Müller* (VT 14/1964, 183-191). See also above, Chap. 1.4, note 52. Note the cautions of *Kraus* (1966: 216).

the dramatic character of the pre-exilic liturgy (see above, Ch. II.D); it would also explain why the description of the Sinai theophany is replete with horn blowing and torchlight, amid such natural phenomena as thunder, lightning, and cloud (*šōpār* and *lappîdîm*, Exod 19:16; 20:18). In fact, it is thinkable that we could derive a catalogue of the more important aspects of such a theophanic ritual from the various texts: fire and incense,[10] *šōpār* signals,[11] the proclamation of the Name,[12] and the acclamation of God by the congregation (*tĕrûʿâ*).[13]

Yet another aspect is of the utmost importance. The theophany text in Exod 33:18ff. refers several times to God's "passing by" (*ʿābar*, Qal and Hiphil). Poetic theophany descriptions correspondingly describe how God "leaves" his dwelling and "comes"; these are fundamental characteristics of the theophany texts.[14] Should we seek an appropriate ritual enactment of the coming of God, there is much to support the well-known theory of a procession in which the Ark is the leading feature.[15] The assumption of a connexion between the Ark and the theophany would explain why the Words of Signal (Num 10:35f.) figure in a description of a theophany (Ps 68:2; cf. vv 19,25). It would also explain why the cherubim throne, whose footstool, as we have seen, is the Ark, is employed in conjunction with a verb normally used in theophanies in Ps 80:2, where we read, "Thou who art enthroned above the cherubim, shine forth [*hôpîʿâ*]."

Finally, the assumption of a connexion between the Ark and the theophany would explain why, when they were in desperate straits, the Israelites led the Ark off to the battlefield, where it was greeted with the traditional acclamation, the *tĕrûʿâ* (1 Sam 4:4-8).[16]

We observed above that the *kābôd* occurs in conjunction with the

[10] See Exod 19:9,16,18; 20:18; 34:5; Isa 6:4; cf. Lev 16:2,12-13. Cf. *m. Yoma* 5:2 about the place of the fire pan on the *šĕtiyyâ* stone, which had been the place of the Ark, and compare this with Ezek 10:2,6,7 mentioning fire burning between the cherubim.

[11] See Exod 19:16,19; 20:18. Cf. 2 Sam 6:15; Ps 47:6; 81:4; 98:6.

[12] See Exod 20:24; 33:19; 34:5-6; Ps 50:7; 81:11. Cf. 2 Sam 6:2. Note the discussion below Chap. IV.B.

[13] Ps 47:6; 89:16; cf. 98:6.

[14] Deut 33:2; Judg 5:4-5; Mic 1:3; Hab 3:3 etc. See *Jeremias* (²1977: 7-72).

[15] The cultic role of the Ark has been stressed by *Mowinckel* (PsStud II, 1922: 107-126) and *Kraus* (1966: 208-218). A connexion between the Ark and the theophany has been assumed by *Mowinckel* (1951: 128, 144), *Weiser* (FsBertholet 1950: 520) and others. Such theories about a cultic use of the Ark in processions have been criticized by *J. Maier* (1965: 76-80) and *R. Schmitt* (1972: 159-166). See also the cautions of *D.R. Hillers* (CBQ 30/1968: 48-55, esp. p. 52).

[16] See *H.-P. Müller* (VT 14/1964, 187f.). – I would like to call attention to the possibility that the use of *ʿābar* in Exod 33:18-23 reflects an Ark procession. The use of the same verb in Josh 3:6 and 4:11 might support such an interpretation. In these two instances the verb is used without direct reference to the crossing of Jordan (contrast Josh 3:11 and 4:7).

kingship of God, and with the theophany. Now, if the Ark was in fact the footstool of the heavenly King in the Temple,[17] and if it was also instrumental to the ritual actualization of the theophany, then it should scarcely be surprising to learn that the *kābôd* seems to be associated with the Ark. Ps 24 can be interpreted in support of this suggestion; it is not without reason that God is termed *melek hakkābôd* in a text which is usually assumed to describe a procession of the Ark in the sanctuary (Ps 24:7-10). A much less certain passage, but one which nevertheless may well support the hypothetical association between the *kābôd* and the Ark, is the passage in Ps 63:

כן בקדש חזיתיך לראות עזך וכבודך

So I have looked upon thee in the sanctuary,
beholding thy power and thy glory. (Ps 63:3)

In fact, such passages as Ps 132:8 (*ʾārôn ʿuzzěkā*) and Ps 78:61 (where *ʿōz* must refer to the Ark) strongly suggest that we understand *ʿuzzěkā ûkěbôděkā* in Ps 63:3 as a reference to the Ark and to the majesty of God which is associated with it.[18] In short, the conjecture is very convincing that this beholding of God in his sanctuary in reality designates a theophany. It is also worthy of note that the connexion between the Ark and the *kābôd* is not a product of late theological speculation. In fact, it can be traced directly back to the milieu in which the Ark first appears as a historical quantity. I refer here to Shiloh in the period of the Judges when, after the military disaster was an acknowledged fact and the Ark had been seized by the enemy, the daughter-in-law of Eli the priest gave poignant expression to the catastrophe in naming her newborn son Ichabod:

And she named the child Ichabod, saying, "The glory [*kābôd*] has departed from Israel!" because the ark of God had been captured and because of her father-in-law and her husband. And she said, "The glory [*kābôd*] has departed from Israel, for the ark of God has been captured." (1 Sam 4:21f.)

Even if the expression *gālâ kābôd miyyiśrāʾēl*, in which *kābôd*, like a proper name, lacks the article, should prove to reflect the fully developed *kābôd*-theology of exilic times, the fact remains that a proper name bearing the element *kābôd* is attested at Shiloh in the time of the Judges. Moreover, there is no reason to doubt that the name Ichabod ("where is *kābôd*?"[18a]) was given to the newborn on the occasion of the loss of the Ark.

[17] Ps 99:5; 132:7 and 1 Chr 28:2. See above Chap. I.1.
[18] See *G. Henton Davies* (Fs Hooke 1963: 51-61, esp. p. 55).
[18a] See *J.J Stamm* (1965: 416).

We have been largely concerned in our discussion of the background of the use of *kābôd* in Ezekiel and the P-materials with the Temple theology; here the word occurs in phrases characterizing the Lord as king, and in descriptions of the theophany.[18b] We may now return to Ezekiel and attempt to determine whether the Temple theology in general and the theophanic tradition in particular can explain the use of *kābôd* in Ezekiel.

The fact that Ezekiel, the son of a priest (Ezek 1:3), was deeply rooted in the Zion tradition of the Temple theology, will be evident from what has been said above (Ch. III.B). Moreover, he was also familiar with the theophanic tradition, as we can deduce from the introduction to his visionary call narrative. Here we encounter not only the cloud, but also the stormwind (Ezek 1:4); also, the remarkable description of the throne as a chariot will have had its background in the conception in the theophanic tradition of the cloud chariot of God. This connexion with the theophanic tradition further illuminates two interesting points. When the wheels in Ezekiel are designated *galgal*, the prophet is yet again using a term which otherwise occurs in a poetic description of a theophany (*qôl raʿamkā baggalgal*, Ps 77:19). When he rather surprisingly speaks in the singular of a *kĕrûb* (Ezek 9:3; 10:2,4), he seems to use the word as it appears in the theophanic tradition, when it describes the whole of God's heavenly chariot throne (cf. *wayyirkab ʿal kĕrûb wayyāʿōp*, Ps 18:11). The question accordingly arises as to whether the use of *kābôd* in the theophanic tradition can contribute to our understanding of Ezekiel's use of the word. Three observations present themselves here:

(a) *Kābôd* was employed in the theophanic tradition of the divine accidence in the Scholastic sense of the word, that is, it was used of God's royal apparel of cloud and lightning (Ps 97:2-6). On the other hand, in Ezekiel and the P-materials, *kābôd* enjoys a more narrow denotation and is used more concentratedly of God himself. However, we find *kĕbôd YHWH* in Ezek 1:28 as an expression of the total revelation of the divine majesty, as a summary of Ezekiel's entire vision complete with living creatures and throne. It would seem that we are here able to glimpse a connexion with the older usage (cf. Ch. III.B.2.1).

(b) *Kābôd* is closely associated with divine light and fire phenomena in both Ezekiel and the P-materials.[19] This association is intelligible in

[18b] For discussions of the connexions between theophany and the kingship of God, see the authors mentioned by *Jörg Jeremias* ([2]1977: 182, note 1). Note also Jeremias' own discussion (*ibid.*, pp. 182-193).

[19] See Exod 24:17; Lev 9:23f.; Ezek 1:27f.; 10:4; 43:2.

view of the theophanic tradition, in which God manifests himself in his luminous majesty.[20]

(c) The visions of Ezekiel describe God in royal categories as he who sits enthroned in the Temple. At the same time, they also emphasize that God is not merely statically "sitting"; thus we repeatedly find the *kābôd* in motion.[21] In the theophanic tradition the word *kābôd* is used in a similar way of a God who approaches; this no doubt made the word an appropriate choice for Ezekiel. When he speaks of the departure of the Glory of the Lord from Jerusalem, he employs – to borrow a metaphor from musical terminology – an inversion of the main theme of the theophanic tradition, the coming of God![22]

We accordingly conclude that Ezekiel's choice of the word *kābôd* was dictated by the earlier use of the term in the theophanic tradition. It was here those connotations were preserved which underlie the usage in the Priestly traditions. Ezekiel's visions of the divine majesty exhibit the striking combination of *kābôd* with the throne, and this combination epitomizes, with emblematic density, the whole theology of Ezekiel's visions. Thus Ezekiel may be seen with his feet planted on the two pedestals of the theology of the Temple, in that his use of the throne motif attests to the importance of the Zion tradition to him, while his use of *kābôd* underlines his respect for the theophanic tradition. When the throne is equipped with wheels and becomes a chariot, both traditions are welded indissolubly together.[22a]

B. The Choice of *šēm* by the Deuteronomistic Theology

The Sabaoth designation disappears with the advent of the *kābôd* theology, but for a time the throne concept was present in the latter (Ezekiel). In the Name theology, not only the Sabaoth designation but also the

[20] See, for instance, Ps 18:9,13,14,15; 77:19; 97:3; Isa 29:6; 30:27,30; Hab 3:4,11 and Job 37:22. Note also *hôpia*ʿ, "shine forth" in Deut 33:2; Ps 50:2; 80:2 and 94:1. – On the phenomenon of light in theophanies see *Jörg Jeremias* (²1977: 62-66 and p. 172f.).

[21] See Ezek 3:12 *(text. emend.)*; 9:3; 10:4,18; 11:23; 43:2,4.

[22] A passage that stands close to Ezekiel's visions is found in Exod 24:1a,9-11. Note v 10 with the occurrence of *ʾĕlōhê yiśrāʾēl*, which appears several times in Ezekiel's visions (above Chap. III.B note 38) and the "pavement of sapphire stone" (cf. Ezek 1:22,26; 10:1). According to *Beyerlin* (1961: 33-42, esp. p. 40) the tradition in Exod 24:10 has been influenced by ideas connected with the theophany above the Ark. Thus the theophanic tradition has provided material for the description of the visions in both Ezekiel and Exodus 24.

[22a] We cannot here elaborate the possible connexions between Ezekiel's use of *kābôd* and certain Akkadian counterparts on which see *Oppenheim* (JAOS 63/1943, 31-34) and *Cassin* (1968). Cf. *Jeremias* (²1977: 77f.).

cherubim throne have disappeared; God himself is no longer present in the Temple, but only in heaven: However, he is represented in the Temple by his Name. Here we touch upon an important distinction between the Priestly and the Deuteronomistic traditions; in the former, *kābôd* stands for God himself, while in the latter there is ultimately a difference between God's being in heaven and the presence of his Name in the Temple.

The concept of God advocated by the Deuteronomistic theology is strikingly abstract. The throne conception has vanished, and the anthropomorphic characteristics of God are on their way to oblivion. Thus the *form* of God plays no part in the depiction in the D-Work of the Sinai theophany:

> Then the Lord spoke to you out of the midst of the fire; you heard the sound of words, but saw no form; there was only a voice. (Deut 4:12)

It is not surprising that the Name of God occupies so central a position in a theology in which God's words and voice receive so much emphasis.[23] Already the proto-Deuteronomic tradition had concerned itself with the divine Name,[24] and the Tetragramme occurs with great frequency[25] and notable status in the Book of Deuteronomy (cf. Deut 28:58: "this glorious and awful name").

It will not be possible here to go into the question of the general concern of the Deuteronomic theology with the Name, but it is obvious that we have here something of the background behind the choice of *šēm*. In these pages it will be necessary to limit our examination to a small fraction of this greater panorama: to those connotations of the term *šēm* which were especially decisive for selecting it to express the relationship of God to his sanctuary.

1. The Name and the Presence

It appears that when the Deuteronomistic theologians chose *šēm*, they seized on a term which was already connected with the idea of God's presence. Exod 23:21 tells us how God warned Israel during her

[23] Note the use of *dābār* as a key term for the divine commandment in Dtr literature and note the Dtr view of history in which the destiny of the nation is systematically presented as the product of the word of YHWH. See *W.H. Schmidt* (TWAT 2/1977, 118-133, *passim*) and *W. Dietrich* (1972).

[24] Compare Hos 1:9; 12:6 with Exod 3:14-15 and see *Mettinger* (Sabaoth, note 70).

[25] *N. Lohfink* (BETL 41/1976, 101-103) gives the following figures: *YHWH ʾĕlōhêkā*: 235 x, *YHWH ʾĕlōhêkem*: 46 x, *YHWH ʾĕlōhênû*: 23 x, *YHWH ʾĕlōhāy*: 3 x, *YHWH ʾĕlōhāyw*: 2 x, and *YHWH* the God of Israel's fathers (various formulations): 8 x. *Rose* (1975: 171-182; 264) calls attention to the increasing use of *YHW(H)* as a theophoric element in proper names in the seventh century B.C.

wanderings in the desert to respect his angel and obey his voice, "for my name is in him." The Lord is present via his representative. This situation has no reference to the cult, but such connexions are clearly attested by other texts.

In worship, the Israelite turned to his God in prayer and hymns of praise, and he called upon the Name in his invocations.[26] Moreover, when God was called, he became present:

> For what great nation is there, that has a god so near to it as the Lord our God is to us, whenever we call upon him? (Deut 4:7)

Clearly, the divine Name was closely associated with the cultic presence of YHWH. However, there are a number of passages of even greater relevance to our study; in these, the presence of God is made manifest by God's own proclamation of his Name in the context of a theophany.[27] Admittedly, the theophany motif is not one of the most typical aspects of the inventory of the D-Work, but two observations are in order here. First, the primal theological datum of the D-Work is a theophany, although no mention is made of God's "descent", nor of his "coming", and in fact God's thundering speech plays a vastly greater part than do the visual phenomena (Deut 4:11,12,36). Second, the D-Work posits God in heaven. Some of the descriptions in the theophanic tradition also presuppose God's being in heaven, since they speak of how God "descends" *(yārad)*.[28] Thus, even if the Deuteronomistic theology does not mention how God "comes" or "descends", it is not irrelevant to point to this aspect of the theophanic tradition as important for our study, more especially since there are cases in the theophanic tradition in which the Name connects the Presence with the cult site in a way that is germane to our discussion of the Name theology.

Already the old altar law in the Book of the Covenant informs us that God pronounces his Name over the sacred site and thus comes and brings blessing to his people. This passage is to be read without emendation:

[26] References in *v.d. Woude* (THAT 2/1976, 951-953).

[27] The importance of God's theophanic proclamation of his Name for the Dtr Name Theology was stressed by *Weiser* (FsBertholet, 1950: 521f.), *Zimmerli* (Gottes Offenbarung, ²1969: 125f., originally published in 1957: and cf. pp. 34-40), *Beyerlin* (1961: 156-158) and *v.d. Woude* (THAT 2/1976, 953-955, and *idem*, FsHulst, 1977: 204-210, especially pp. 207f.). In these two last-mentioned works v.d. Woude also discusses the semantic content of the *šēm* formulas in Dtr literature. On this point I do not agree with his conclusions, see above (Chap. II).

[28] 2 Sam 22:10 = Ps 18:10; Isa 31:4; 63:19; 64:2; Mic 1:3; Ps 144:5. Cf Exod 19:11,18,20 and Neh 9:13. See *Schnutenhaus* (ZAW 76/1964, 5f., 12) and *Mann* (1977: 254f.).

בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי
אבוא אליך וברכתיך

> In every place where I proclaim my name I will come and bless you. (Exod 20:24)[29]

We had occasion above to review the theophany in Exod 33:18-23, in which not only the term *kābôd* is present, but also God's sovereign proclamation of his Name. The latter aspect is also central to the theophany in Exod 34:

> And he said: "I will make all my goodness pass before you, and will proclaim before you my name 'The Lord';...". (Exod 33:19).

> And the Lord descended in the cloud and stood with him there, and proclaimed the name of the Lord. The Lord passed before him and proclaimed, 'The Lord, the Lord, a God merciful and gracious....' (Exod 34:5-6)

Here it is God himself who is the subject of the *qārā᾿ běšēm YHWH* formula, a formula which is otherwise used with a human subject, and which belongs in a cultic context. Thus when we find it employed in a description of God's appearance on Sinai, the implication is that the narrator has utilized cultic categories in his depiction. There is a correspondence between God's revelation of his presence in the regular liturgy and the way the experience of God's presence is formulated in the accounts in Exodus 33 and 34.[30]

Now, we often encounter the formula "I am YHWH (your God)" in the Priestly streams of tradition present in the Holiness Code, the P-materials, and Ezekiel.[31] Zimmerli has convincingly demonstrated that the background of this formula is God's proclamation of his Name in the cultic theophany; this was the original *Sitz im Leben* of this formula.[32]

The use of the formula in conjunction with the promulgation of law in

[29] My own translation. The Massoretic *᾿azkîr* is to be preferred to the reading in the second person, found in the Peshitta, see *Stamm* (TZ 1/1945, 304-306). For the translation see also *Schottroff* (1964: 247f.). The article in *běkol hammāqôm* is probably not to be deleted. See *Childs* (1974: 447), who points out that Gen 20:13 and Deut 11:24 are other instances where the article appears to have a distributive sense.

[30] See *Beyerlin* (1961: 156f.).

[31] Lev 18:2,4,30 etc.; Ezek 20:5,7,19 etc.

[32] See *Zimmerli* (Gottes Offenbarung, ²1969: 11-40, especially pp. 34-40; this study was originally published in 1953). These observations were followed up by Zimmerli in a subsequent study (*ibidem*, pp. 120-132, especially pp. 125f.; originally published in 1957). Note also *Elliger* (FsHeim, 1954: 9-34), who reckons with two different formulas, "I am YHWH" and "I am YHWH your God" respectively (p. 15), the latter being particularly connected with *Heilsgeschichte* (p. 32), cf. *Zimmerli* (²1969: 125). But even so, Elliger agrees with Zimmerli in the conclusion about a *Sitz im Leben* in the theophany (Elliger pp. 27, 29, 33f.).

the Holiness Code is strikingly illuminated by two psalms which display the connexion previously mentioned between theophany, proclamation of the Name, and divine promulgation of law; these are Psalms 50 and 81.[33] The former is introduced by a description of a theophany (vv 1-6), which is followed by God's proclamation of his Name: *ʾĕlōhîm ʾĕlōhêkā ʾānōkî* (v 7). It may be supposed in this connexion that *ʾĕlōhîm* has supplanted original *YHWH* in Elohistically edited portions of the Psalter.

Ps 81 presupposes a similarly cultic situation, and we are probably not far off the mark if we assume v 4 to be a reference to the Autumn Festival.[33a] The introductory section (vv 2-6) expresses the festal mood appropriate to the coming of God, and corresponds with the description of the theophany in Ps 50. Admittedly, the proclamation of the divine Name (*ʾānōkî YHWH ʾĕlōhêkā* ...) first appears in v 11, but this is insufficient reason to deny this proclamation a connexion with the theophany situation.

When the divine law is proclaimed in both of these psalms, it is the Lord who is present in the worship service who is ultimately the warrant for and source of the words being pronounced. Moreover, it is God's sovereign proclamation of his Name that is the guarantee of his presence. Thus these two psalms belong alongside of Exodus 19–20 and Deuteronomy 5, where the Lord himself announces the Decalogue.[34]

A remarkable passage in Isaiah 30 also witnesses to the connexion between the Name and the theophany:

> Behold, the name of the Lord comes from far,
> burning with his anger and with thick rising smoke ... (Isa 30:27)

Scholars have tended to regard *šēm* in this passage as a late intrusion which reveals the influence of the Deuteronomistic Name theology.[34a] However it is patent that the expression is to be interpreted in the light of the established connexion between the Name and the theophany. Seen from this vantage, it is not unthinkable that *šēm* belongs to the original text, even if *šēm* would then appear to be a personification of YHWH in a manner unparalleled in other descriptions of theophanies.

We noted previously that the Ark is often held to have played a role in

[33] On the theophany in these two psalms see the standard commentaries and, in addition, on Ps 50 *Beaucamp* (NRTh 81/1959, 897-915) and *Ridderbos* (OTS 15/1969, 213-226). Ridderbos is inclined to date Ps 50 to the Josianic era (pp. 223ff.).

[33a] See *Mowinckel* (PsStud II: 86f.).

[34] Thus *Zimmerli* (Gottes Offenbarung, ²1969: 39).

[34a] See *Kaiser* (1974: 307) and cf. *Wildberger* (Jesaja, Lfg. 13-15/1978, 1214, 1216f.), who deletes *šēm*.

the cultic theophany. It would be logical to inquire whether the Name was in any way connected with this cult symbol, and there are in fact indications that this was the case. The most likely text is 2 Sam 6:2, which speaks of "the ark of God, over which the name 'Lord Sabaoth, he who thrones above the cherubim' has been called."[35] This formulation has been regarded as a passage which explains how the Ark passes to its new owner by proclamation of the Name; thus it is said to become the Lord's property after having been a foreign cult object.[36]

Now, there is nothing to suggest that the Ark was ever an implement in a foreign cult. Such a juridical act would thus seem superfluous. On the other hand, we do know that God's proclamation of his Name occurred in conjunction with the theophany, and we have above supported the view that an Ark procession was an important part of the cultic realization of the theophany. It would accordingly be only logical to interpret 2 Sam 6:2 as referring to the proclamation of the Name during the theophany.[37] Seen in this light, it was not only the status of the Ark as a national and religious symbol that prompted David to bring it up to Jerusalem, for the Ark will have been more than this: it was the sign of the presence of God. Furthermore, when the Ark was led out in procession and the Name was called out in the theophanic proclamation, God was thought to be present in the midst of his people. Whether Deuteronomistic or not, 2 Sam 6:2 alludes to the theophanic proclamation of the divine Name. The undisputably late formulations about the proclamation of the Name over the temple and the city represent a further development.[37a]

As we have seen, several of the Deuteronomistic Name formulas speak of God's causing his Name to dwell in the sanctuary. Similarly, the theophanic tradition speaks of how God himself proclaims his Name. In both cases, God himself is the active subject, and in both cases the Name expresses the cultic presence of God, although in the Deuteronomistic theology this is distinct from the Lord himself.

[35] My own translation. The MT with the dittography of *šēm* is in some disorder. Either one should delete one *šēm* with the LXX or follow those manuscripts that read ... *šām šēm* ...

[36] See *Galling* (TLZ 81/1956, 68f.).

[37] Cf. *Weiser* (FsBertholet, 1950: 521), *Beyerlin* (1961: 157 with n. 8) and *Clements* (1965: 33). *Schreiner* too (1963: 158-164) called attention to the connexion between the Name and the Ark as the background of the Name Theology. He referred to 2 Sam 6:2,18 and Jer 7:12 but did not call attention to the proclamation of the divine Name in the theophany. – For other suggestions concerning the connection between the Name and the Ark, see *Albright* (JBL 67/1948, 378f.) and *Mann (1977: 170)*.

[37a] These last-mentioned passages (references above Ch. II, introduction) seem to convey the idea of God's ownership and sovereign right of disposal over temple and city (see Ch. II.2). This circumstance, however, does not preclude the possibility of an original connection with the theophanic proclamation of the Name.

It might be appropriate to ask how the proclamation of the Name took place during the ritual actualization of the theophany. Was it a suitably commissioned human representative, that is, a priest or cult prophet, who spoke on God's behalf? Or did believers hear suggestions of the voice of God in blasts of the trumpet? We have no way of knowing.

In any case, we are here very far from any idea of magical coercion exercised on God. The proclamation of the Name does not *compel* the presence of the Lord. The cultic poetry of ancient Israel very powerfully emphasizes the sovereignty of God; here we encounter, "imploring and expectant prayers and requests that look for a free and gracious self-revelation by Yahweh."[38] The Israelite had to do with a God who was not to be manipulated by cultic techniques. The coming God of the theophany was the sovereign God, so that even if the proclamation of the Name was performed by a human agent, it would be unwise to see in this act a case of magical manipulation.

As we have observed, there was in the theophanic tradition a connexion between the Name and the presence of God; this helps us to understand the use of *šēm* in the D-Work. The choice of *šēm* as the key term in Deuteronomistic cult theology is by no means incomprehensible. Parenthetically we may here add yet another observation: the Deuteronomistic theology made a clean break with the notion of the God enthroned in the Temple. Thus *šēm* was probably also an attractive term to the Deuteronomists in that it lacked the royal connotations so abundantly present in *kābôd*.

2. *The Name Theology and Šēm as (Semi-) Hypostasis*

As we have noted, the Deuteronomistic Name theology emphasized the idea that God himself dwells in heaven, while his Name is present in the Temple. The Name repeatedly appears as a quantity distinct from God yet intimately attached to him. This distinction should be studied in the light of the general tendency in the Near East to personify divine epithets and qualities.[39] Here we shall at once admit that we are on uncertain ground. The OT materials relevant to this problem are sparse indeed, and our conclusions will necessarily be conjectural. Even the question of whether or not to employ the term "hypostasis" is largely

[38] *Kraus* (1966: 216).

[39] See *H. Ringgren* (1947). As *Gerleman* (FsVriezen, 1966: 108-114, especially pp. 111f.) points out, "hypostatization" of divine qualities and functions must be seen in the light of the general inclination in Hebrew (and other Semitic languages) towards "Verdinglichung und Verlebendigung des Abstraktums". Cf. *Gerleman*'s remarks in his article on *dābār* (THAT I/1971, 442).

dependent on how one defines the term. After discussing a number of alternatives, G. Pfeifer suggests that it be defined as,

> eine Grösse, die teilhat am Wesen einer Gottheit, die durch sie handelnd in die Welt eingreift, ohne dass sich ihr Wesen im Wirken dieser Hypostase erschöpft.[40]

In any event, it would seem difficult to contest the fact that the Deuteronomistic Name theology represents a tendency towards hypostatization of the divine Name.[41] In this connexion the D-Work is not an isolated phenomenon in the OT, since a few passages in other contexts also reveal a tendency to regard the Name as an independent entity.[42] Here the use of *šēm* as an alternative to *YHWH* in a few texts should be mentioned,[43] even if we here find only faint tendencies. More obvious examples are to be found in other contexts. We cited Isa 30:27 (" the name of the Lord comes from far") above; here the Name is the subject of a verb of motion. On the evidence of this passage, we should consider retaining the Massoretic reading in Ps 75:2, which speaks of how the Name draws near (*wěqārôb šěmekā;* contrast the LXX). We also find *šēm* as the subject of a verb in Ps 20:

> The Lord answer you in the day of trouble!
> The name of the God of Jacob protect you!
> May he send you help from the sanctuary,
> and give you support from Zion. (Ps 20:2-3; RSV vv 1-2)

The continuation of this psalm also contains other references to the Name of God (vv 6,8; RSV 5,7).[44] Ps 20 is of further interest from a chronological point of view, since the intercessory prayer for the king and the identification of the Temple with heaven (vv 3,7; RSV 2,6) suggest that it is pre-exilic.

The Name of God appears to have attracted considerable interest in the theology which developed in the Solomonic Temple. God himself proclaimed his Name and announced his presence during the cultic theophany. Furthermore, certain circles seem to have developed speculations which tended to regard the Name as a distinct and to some extent independent entity. This suggests the possibility that the Deuteronomistic Name theology may have taken to itself conceptions of the divine

[40] *G. Pfeifer* (1967:15). Cf. *McBride* (1969:5), who writes: "by 'hypostasis' is meant a quality, epithet, attribute, manifestation or the like of a deity which through a process of personification and differentiation has become a distinct (if not fully independent) divine being in its own right".

[41] Contrast *Zimmerli* (Gottes Offenbarung, ²1969: 126) and *v.d. Woude* (THAT 2/1976, 954f.).

[42] Note, however, how *v.d. Woude* (THAT 2/1976, 957f.) understands cases like Isa 30:27 as referring to "Jahwe in Person" or "Jahwe in seiner Herrlichkeit".

[43] Ps 7:18; 9:3; 61:9; 92:2 etc.

[44] Cf. Prov 18:10 and Ps 118:10-12.

Name which previously were part of the lore of the Solomonic Temple.[45]

The tendency towards hypostatization of a divine "name" is well attested in the world surrounding Israel. McBride has presented an excellent discussion of these materials,[46] so that a brief summary will suffice here. We are acquainted with *ʾšmbytʾl* (Eshem-Bethel) from Elephantine,[47] and the OT mentions a North Syrian deity called *ʾăšîmāʾ* (2 Kgs 17:30). In both designations we seem to meet the Old Aramaic form of the word for "name", *ʾšm*.[48] Even earlier, some Ugaritic texts refer to Astarte as *šm bʿl*,[49] a designation which enjoyed long use, as the Eshmunazar inscription from Sidon suggests.[50] We find a number of examples among the Amorite personal names in which *sumu/samu* features as a theophorous element referring to the hypostatized name of the tribal god.[51] Thus one could mention in this connexion such names as *Sumu-epuḫ*, in which the latter element is a form of the root *w-p-ʿ* (cf. Heb. *hôpîaʿ*, Akk. *wapû*, "to shine forth").[52]

The theophorous element *sumu/samu* also occurs in personal names compounded from a variety of divine names, such as Dagan and Baal (Haddu); thus we find such personal names as *Sumu-dagan*,[53] which may be compared with *Šum-adda* in El-Amarna.[54] We also find this element in compounds with El, such as *Samu-ila* or *Sumu-ila*.[55]

All of this helps to shed some light on a much-discussed name in the OT, namely Samuel *(Šĕmû-ʾēl)*. On the basis of the materials cited above, there can be little doubt that the name "Samuel" contains a reference to the hypostatized name of YHWH-El.[56]

[45] Cf. *Kraus* (Psalmen I: 164). – Discussing the origin of the Dtr Name Theology, *Dumermuth* (ZAW 70/1958, 59-98, especially pp. 70-95) argued for a Northern provenance and stressed in particular the importance of Bethel. *McBride* too (1969: 209) suggested "a North Israelite (but ultimately Canaanite) notion of God's cultic presence through his name" as the source of the Name Theology. Unlike these, *Noth* (Ges Stud I, ²1960: 186f.) pointed to the Jerusalem tradition. The same direction was taken by *Schreiner* (1963: 158-164), who stressed the importance of the Ark traditions.

[46] See *McBride* (1969: 130-141). Already *Giesebrecht* (1901: 102-126, 140-144) pointed to the ANE materials in his discussion of the name in the OT.

[47] *Cowley*, Aramaic Papyri no 22:124. For a discussion see *Vincent* (1937: 654-680).

[48] See *KAI* 214:16.21; 222 C 25; 223 A 4 and 223 B 7

[49] *KTU* 1.16.VI.56 = *CUL* 16.6[127].56 and *KTU* 1.2.I.8 = *CUL* 2.1[137].8.

[50] See *KAI* 14:18. This inscription has been dated to the beginning of the fifth century B.C., see *KAI* vol. II p. 19.

[51] See *Huffmon* (1965: 54-56; 247-249) and the discussion in *McBride* (1969: 131-135).

[52] *Huffmon* (1965: 212f.).

[53] *Huffmon* (1965: 248).

[54] *EA* 224,3; 225,3.

[55] *Huffmon* (1965: 55, 248).

[56] See *Cross* (1973: 11). – *Noth* (1928: 123-126 especially p. 123) connected the name *Šĕmûʾēl* with other names with a theophoric *ʾšm* but found it improbable that this element was the

The ring ends here. We found above indications of a connexion between the divine Name and the Ark. There is even one passage which suggests that this connexion may already have been established in pre-monarchical Shiloh, namely the expression, "Shiloh, where I made my name dwell at first" (*ʾăšer šikkantî šĕmî šām bāriʾšōnâ*, Jer 7:12). This passage alone is not enough to be taken as historical evidence for the conclusion that the divine Name was once especially associated with the Ark theology of Shiloh; however other evidence points in the same direction. The passage describing how the Name is called out over the Ark (2 Sam 6:2) seems to me to suggest an established practice of the cult at Shiloh. Moreover, in Shiloh we find the personal name "Samuel" given to a person whose parents had a special connexion with the Shiloh sanctuary. Admittedly, proper names may well exhibit reminiscences of long-dead beliefs, but taken together with Jer 7:12 and 2 Sam 6:2, the name "Samuel" stands out as a significant relic of the historical past. It may be interpreted as evidence that God's Name was the object of special veneration, and that it may have played an important role in Shiloh, where the Ark for a time made its home.[57]

Accordingly, we conclude that the choice of *šēm* as a central theological term in Deuteronomistic theology must be seen in the light of the proclamation of the divine Name in the cultic theophany, and in part as a result of the tendency towards personification or hypostatization of the divine Name. In selecting *šēm*, a term was found which was suitable for expressing both the presence of God at the cult site and the distinction between God's being in heaven and his representation on Mount Zion.

Summary

Our concluding chapter has dealt with the choice of *šēm* and *kābôd* as key theological terms.

(1) We discovered that the choice of *kābôd* by the Priestly theology was intelligible in the light of already existing connexions between this term and the concept of the Lord as king. These associations made *kābôd* an appropriate candidate for replacing *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt* on the throne in the Temple in Ezekiel's visions. Additionally, *kābôd* was found to have special relations with the theophanic tradition which

word meaning "name" (see pp. 123 n. 5 and 125 n. 4). *Kopf* (VT 8/1958, 209) and *S.* and *Sh. Rin* (BZ 11/1967, 175) connected the first element in *šĕmûʾēl* with Arab. *s-m-ʾ* with the sense "being high" and understood the name to mean "God is high". See also *A.H. van Zyl* (1969: 122-129).

[57] On the connexions between Shiloh and Jerusalem see especially *E. Otto* (TZ 32/1976, 65-77).

probably were developed in the theological milieu of the pre-exilic Temple. Ezekiel's vision, which depicts the *kābôd* departing from Jerusalem is in reality the mirror-image of the central theme of the theophanic tradition, that is, the coming of God.

(2) We illuminated the use of *šēm* in Deuteronomistic theology with the aid of two important insights: (a) In the theophanic tradition we found a special connexion between the Name of God and his presence, since the coming God proclaimed his Name and in this way made his presence manifest according to this tradition. (b) The distinction drawn by the Deuteronomistic Name theology between God's being in heaven and his Name in the Temple appeared in the light of the OT materials and ancient Near Eastern parallels to be akin to a tendency towards personification and hypostatization of divine qualities, epithets, and so forth.

(3) The theophanic tradition will have been important for both the Name and Kabod theologies; this tradition had ancient pre-monarchical roots. It had its *Sitz im Leben* in the Temple during the monarchy, and we have assumed that the theophany was ritually actualized in the liturgy, at any rate at the time of the Feast of Tabernacles. Thus the Zion tradition and the theophanic tradition may be seen to have co-existed within the Temple theology as two opposed poles in a field of tension, as two streams of theology conveying seemingly opposite but nevertheless complementary ideas of God.

Our investigation has been concerned with two dissimilar theologies, the Priestly Kabod theology and the Deuteronomistic Name theology. They represent two attempts to resolve the same fundamental dilemma; this was the cognitive dissonance arising between the established cult theology with its assurances of God's presence in the Temple and protection of his city (the Zion tradition), and on the other side the approach of judgement (Ezekiel) and the harsh reality of the disasters (the D-Work) at the beginning of the sixth century.

The differences between these theologies may not be neglected. The Kabod theology follows the theology of immanence promulgated by the Zion-Sabaoth theology, while the Name theology emphasizes instead God's transcendence. However, our discussion of the connotations implicit in *šēm* and *kābôd* which made these terms useful for theological restatement has shown that a historical connexion once existed between the concepts of the "Name" and the "Glory". The demands of historical reality required theological rethinking of Israel's basic verities, but they did not lead to the creation of theological ideas *ex nihilo*. In order to represent the God of Israel's present and future situation, colours

were employed that had been borrowed from arhaic, but not extinct traditions. The materials were ancient, but the results were nevertheless something decidedly new. Both theologies arose at a time when the Zion-Sabaoth theology had become problematical; thus the theophanic tradition was enlisted to help ease the difficulties.

Both of the theologies which arose to replace the Zion-Sabaoth theology as the fundamental statement of Israel's beliefs were derived from the theology of the Temple. The dethronement of the *YHWH ṣĕbāʾôt* designation from its place in Temple tradition, and its replacement by *šēm* and *kābôd*, surely represent a victory for terms stemming from the same Temple tradition. More precisely, it was concepts originally attached to the Ark and the theophany which were drawn into service. Finally, a remarkable witness to the antiquity of the concepts which reappeared in both exilic theologies is provided by the two proper names associated with the Shiloh of the period of the Judges: Ichabod and Samuel!

The "dethronement of Sabaoth" was, however, only temporary. After the Exile the circle closes in full with the advent of the prophet Zechariah and his vigorous proclamation that the Lord is on the verge of returning to Zion. And so – as a matter of course – the classical Sabaoth designation again becomes the paramount term for the *Deus Praesens*.[58]

אתה יהוה לעולם תשב כסאך לדר ודור
(Lam 5:19)

[58] For later developments see *J. Abelson* (1912) and *A.M. Goldberg* (1969).

Abbreviations. Technical Remarks

I have used the abbreviations listed in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 95/1976, 335ff., 339ff. These abbreviations are essentially the same as those found in Elenchus Bibliographicus Biblicus and in Eissfeldt's Introduction. In addition to the abbreviations listed in JBL I have also used the following:

BN	Biblische Notizen
Dtr, DtrH, DtrN, DtrP, D-Work	see Ch. II, the beginning and note 1
EA	see Bibliography: sources *sub* Knudtzon
CUL	see Bibliography: literature *sub* Whitaker
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
KTU	see Bibliography: sources *sub* Dietrich
OTL	Old Testament Library
STU	Schweizerische Theologische Umschau
TGUOS	Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions
THAT	Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament, ed. by E. Jenni and C. Westermann

References to biblical passages follow the numbering of the Hebrew text. Unless otherwise stated biblical quotations have been rendered according to the Revised Standard Version. Transliteration of Hebrew according to the JBL-system.

In references to Ugaritic texts I have given both the KTU number and the CUL number. It is to be noted that the CUL number combines the CTA (Herdner) number and the UT (Gordon) number. Thus CUL no 21[122].1.12 refers to CTA no 21, which is UT no 122.

Brackets have been used in the following manner:

[ ] restoration of the text or explanatory addition.

[......] damaged or unintelligible passage.

< > later glosses, etc., to be deleted from the text.

... (without brackets) to indicate that part of the quotation has been left out.

Bibliography

This is not intended as an exhaustive bibliography of the subject of this essay: it i simply a list of the works I have referred to, quoted or consulted. The well-know editions of the text of the Old Testament and standard works of reference, such a grammars and dictionaries, have not been included. For technical reasons it has not bee possible to use Hebrew characters; where such occur in titles of books or papers th words here appear in transliterated form.

A. Sources

Die Sprüche Jesus', des Sohnes Sirachs... (Schriften des Inst. Judaicum in Berlin vol. 31). Ed. by H.L. Strack. Leipzig 1903.

The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran – 4Q serek širôt ʿôlat haššabbāt. Samples edited by J. Strugnell, VTSup 7/1960, 318–345.

The Apocalypse of Abraham. Transl. by G.H. Box, assisted by J.I. Landsman. London 1919.

Apocalypses apocryphae Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohannis... Ed. by K. von Tischendorf. Leipzig 1886.

[The Mishnah:] *šiššā sidrê mišnā*. Ed. by Ch. Albeck. Jerusalem 1958–59.

The Mishnah. Translated... by H. Danby. Oxford (1933) reprinted 1958.

Fiebig, P., Rosch ha-schana (G. Beer and O. Holzmann, ed., Die Mischna 2:8). Giessen 1914.

Der Toseftatraktat Jom hak-Kippurim. Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar. I Teil, Kapitel 1 und 2. Ed. by G. Larsson. Lund 1980.

Andrae, W., Farbige Keramik aus Assur. Berlin 1923.

Cowley, A., Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C. Oxford 1923.

Dietrich, M. – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit. Teil 1 Transkription (AOAT vol. 24). Kevelaer... 1976.

Donner, H. – W. Röllig, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften 1–3. Wiesbaden 1962–64.

Edwards, I.E.S., Tutankhamun. His tomb and treasures. New York 1977.

Ginsberg, H.L., Transl. of: Ugaritic myths, epics, and legends. In: ANET[3] pp. 129–155.

Hillers, D.R., *MŠKN'* "temple" in inscriptions from Hatra. BASOR 206/1972, 54–56.

Keel, O., see Literature.

King, L.W., Babylonian boundary stones and memorial tablets. London 1912.

Knudtzon, J.A., Die El-Amarna-Tafeln (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek vol. 2:1–2). Leipzig 1907–15.

Loretz, O., see Dietrich.

Loud, G., The Megiddo ivories (OIP vol. 52). Chicago 1939.

Montet, P., Byblos et l'Égypte. Texte. Paris 1928. Atlas. Paris 1929.

Moor, J.C. de, see Literature.

Moortgat, A., Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel. Berlin 1940.

Sanmartín, J., see Dietrich.

Speiser, E.A., Transl. of: Akkadian myths and epics. In: ANET[3] pp. 60-119.

B. Literature

Abelson, J., The immanence of God in rabbinical literature. London 1912.

Ackroyd, P.R., Exile and restoration. London 1968.

Ahlström, G.W., Joel and the temple cult (VTSup vol. 21). Leiden 1971.

– Heaven on earth – at Hazor and Arad. In: B.A. Pearson, ed., Religious syncretism in antiquity. Missoula 1975, pp. 67–83.

Albright, W.F., Review of B.N. Wambacq, L'épithète divine du Jahvé Seba'ôt (1947). JBL 67/1948, 377–381.

Alt, A., Kleine Schriften, vol. 1. München 1953.

Anderson, B.W., Creation versus chaos. The reinterpretation of mythical symbolism in the Bible. New York 1967.

Auerbach, E., Der Wechsel des Jahres-Anfangs in Juda im Lichte der neugefundenen babylonischen Chronik. VT 9/1959, 113–121.

– Die Umschaltung vom judäischen auf den babylonischen Kalender. VT 10/1960, 69–70.

Baltzer, K., The meaning of the temple in the Lukan writings. HTR 58/1965, 263–277.

Baumgärtel, F., Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel. In: A. Kuschke, ed., Verbannung und Heimkehr (Fs W. Rudolph). Tübingen 1961, pp. 1–29.

Beaucamp, E., La théophanie du Psaume 50 (49). NRT 81/1959, 897–915.

Beauchamp, P., Review of T. Mettinger, King and Messiah (1976). RSR 67/1979, 276–280.

Beek, M.A., Der Dornbusch als Wohnsitz Gottes (Deut. XXXIII 16). OTS 14/1965, 155–161.

Beyerlin, W., Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinaitraditionen. Tübingen 1961.

Biezais, H., Die Hauptprobleme der religiösen Symbolik. In: H. Biezais, ed., Religious symbols and their functions (Scripta Instituti Donneriani vol. 10). Stockholm 1979, pp. VII–XXIX.

Boecker, H.J., Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament (WMANT vol. 14). Neukirchen (1964) [2]1970.

Born, A. van den, Zum Tempelweihspruch (1 Kg VIII 12f). OTS 14/1965, 235–244.

Bright, J., Covenant and promise. London 1977.

Brueggemann, W., The kerygma of the Priestly writers. ZAW 84/1972, 397–414.

– Presence of God. Cultic. IDBSup pp. 680–683.

– A convergence in recent Old Testament theologies. JSOT 18/1980, 2–18.

Buren, E.D. van, Symbols of the gods in Mesopotamian art (AnOr vol. 23). Rome 1945.

Busink, Th. A., Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes. Vol. 1: Der Tempel Salomos. Leiden 1970.

Carmichael, C., A new view of the origin of the Deuteronomic credo. VT 19/1969, 273–289.

Carrol, R.P., When prophecy failed. Reactions and responses to failure in the Old Testament prophetic traditions. London 1979.

– Prophecy and dissonance. A theoretical approach to the prophetic tradition. ZAW 92/1980, 108–119.

Caspari, W., Die Bedeutungen der Wortsippe *k-b-d* im Hebräischen. Leipzig 1908.

Cassin, E., La splendeur divine. Paris 1968.

Childs, B.S., Myth and reality in the Old Testament (SBT vol. 27). London [2]1962.

– Exodus. A Commentary (OTL). London 1974.

Clements, R.E., God and temple. Oxford 1965.

– Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem cult tradition. VT 15/1965, 300–312.
– Old Testament theology. A fresh approach. London 1978.
– Isaiah and the deliverance of Jerusalem (JSOT Supplement Series vol 13). Sheffield 1980.
Clifford, R.J., The tent of El and the Israelite tent of meeting. CBQ 33/1971, 221–227.
– The cosmic mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament (HSM vol. 4). Cambridge Mass. 1972.
– The temple in the Ugaritic myth of Baal. In: F.M. Cross, ed., Symposia, celebrating the seventy fifth anniversary of the founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900–1975). Volume 2. Cambridge Mass. 1979, pp. 137–145.
Clines, D.J.A., New Year. IDBSup pp. 625–629.
Coppens, J., ed., La notion biblique de Dieu (BETL vol. 41). Gembloux ... 1976.
– La relève apocalyptique du messianisme royal. I. La royauté – le règne. Le royaume de Dieu. Cadre de la relève apocalyptique (BETL vol. 50). Gembloux ... 1979.
Crenshaw, J.L., In search of divine presence. (Some remarks preliminary to a theology of wisdom). Review and expositor 74/1977, 353–369.
Cross, F.M., The Priestly tabernacle. BAR vol. 1. New York 1961, pp. 201–228.
– Canaanite myth and Hebrew epic. Cambridge Mass. 1973.
Crüsemann, F., Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus und Danklied in Israel (WMANT vol. 32). Neukirchen 1969.
– Der Widerstand gegen das Königtum. Die antiköniglichen Texte des Alten Testaments und der Kampf um den frühen isrsraelitischen Staat (WMANT vol. 49). Neukirchen 1978.
Davies, G. Henton, The ark in the Psalms. In: F.F. Bruce, ed., Promise and fulfilment (Fs S.H. Hooke). Edinburgh 1963, pp. 51–61.
Diepold, P., Israels Land (BWANT vol. 95). Stuttgart ... 1972.
Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. – Sanmartín, J., *KŪN Š* und *ŠKN* im Ugaritischen. UF 6/1974, 47–53.
Dietrich, W., Prophetie und Geschichte. Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk (FRLANT vol. 108). Göttingen 1972.
– Jesaja und die Politik (BEvT vol. 74). München 1976.
– Josia und das Gesetzbuch. VT 27/1977, 13–35.
– Gott als König. Zur Frage nach der theologischen und politischen Legitimität religiöser Begriffsbildung. ZTK 77/1980, 251–268.
Dumermuth, F., Zur deuteronomischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen. ZAW 70/1958, 59–98.
Durham, J.I., Credo, ancient Israelite. IDBSup pp. 197–199.
Edwards, I.E.S., Tutankhamun. His tomb and treasures. New York 1977.
Eissfeldt, O., The Old Testament. An introduction. Translated by P.R. Ackroyd. Oxford 1965.
– Kleine Schriften. Ed. by R. Sellheim – F. Maass. Vol. 5. Tübingen 1973.
Elbogen, I., Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung. ([3]1931) Reprinted Hildesheim 1967.
Elliger, K., Ich bin der Herr – euer Gott. In: Theologie als Glaubenszeugnis. (Fs K. Heim = Furche Studien vol. 23). Hamburg 1954, pp. 9–34.
Fabry, H.-J., *hᵃdom*. TWAT 2/1977, 347–357.
Festinger, L., A theory of cognitive dissonance. Evanston 1957.
Ficker, R., *rākab* reiten, fahren. THAT 2/1976, 777–781.
Fiebig, P., see Sources.
Fisher, L., Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament. VT 15/1965, 313–324.

Fretheim, T.E., The Priestly document: anti-temple? VT 18/1968, 313–329.
Friedman, R.E., From Egypt to Egypt: Dtr¹ and Dtr². In: B. Halpern – J.D. Levenson, ed., Traditions in transformation (Fs F.M. Cross). Winona Lake 1981, pp. 167–192.
– The tabernacle in the temple. BA 43/1980, 241–248.
Fritz, V., Tempel und Zelt. Studien zum Tempelbau in Israel und zu dem Zeltheiligtum der Priesterschrift (WMANT vol. 47). Neukirchen 1977.
Gall, A. von, Die Herrlichkeit Gottes. Giessen 1900.
Galling, K., Das Allerheiligste im Salomos Tempel. JPOS 12/1932, 43–46.
– Die Ausrufung des Namens als Rechtsakt in Israel. TLZ 81/1956, 65–70.
Gerleman, G., Bemerkungen zum alttestamentlichen Sprachstil. In: W.C. van Unnik – A.S. van der Woude, ed., Studia Biblica et Semitica Theodoro Christiano Vriezen Dedicata. Wageningen 1966, pp. 108–114.
– *dābār* Wort. THAT 1/1971, 433–443.
– Studien zur alttestamentlichen Theologie (Franz Delitzsch Vorlesungen 1978). Heidelberg 1980.
Giesebrecht, F., Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens und ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage. Königsberg 1901.
Ginsberg, H.L., A strand in the cord of Hebraic hymnody. Eretz Israel 9/1959. English section pp. 45–50.
Giveon, R., The impact of Egypt on Canaan. Iconographical and related studies (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis vol. 20). Freiburg ... 1978.
Görg, M., Das Zelt der Begegnung (BBB vol. 27). Bonn 1967.
– Die Gattung des sogenannten Tempelweihspruchs (1 Kg 8, 12f.). UF 6/1974, 55–63.
– Gott-König-Reden in Israel und Ägypten (BWANT vol. 105). Stuttgart ... 1975.
– Keruben in Jerusalem. BN 4/1977, 13–24.
– *jāʿaḏ*. TWAT 3, Lfg 6–7. Stuttgart ... 1981, cols 697–706.
– *jāšaḇ*. TWAT, forthcoming.
Goldberg, A.M., Untersuchungen über die Vorstellungen von der Schekhinah in der frühen rabbinischen Literatur (Studia Judaica vol. 5). Berlin 1969.
Gray, J., Canaanite mythology and Hebrew tradition. Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions 14/1950–52, 47–57.
– I & II Kings. A commentary (OTL). London ²1970.
– The day of Yahweh in cultic experience and eschatological prospect. SEÅ 39/1974, 5–37.
– A cantata of the Autumn festival: Psalm LXVIII. JSS 22/1977, 2–26.
– The Biblical doctrine of the reign of God. Edinburgh 1979.
Grether, O., Name und Wort Gottes im Alten Testament (BZAW vol. 64). Giessen 1934.
Gruenwald, I., Apocalyptic and merkavah mysticism (AGJU vol. 14). Leiden 1980.
Gunkel, H., Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Göttingen ²1921.
Halbe, J., Passa-Massot im deuteronomischen Festkalender. ZAW 87/1975, 147–168.
Halperin, D.J., The exegetical character of Ezek. X 9–17. VT 26/1976, 129–141.
Halpern, B., The ritual background of Zechariah's temple song. CBQ 40/1978, 167–190.
– The centralization formula in Deuteronomy. VT 31/1981, 20–38.
Hanson, P.D., Zechariah 9 and the recapitulation of an ancient ritual pattern. JBL 92/1973, 37–59.
Haran, M., The ark and the cherubim. IEJ 9/1959, 30–38 and 89–94.
– Zeḇah hayyamim. VT 19/1969, 11–22.
– *ZBḤ YMM* in the Karatepe inscription. VT 19/1969, 372–373.

– The divine presence in the Israelite cult and the cultic institutions. Review article of R.E. Clements, God and Temple (1965). Bib 50/1969, 251–267.
– Temples and temple-service in ancient Israel. An inquiry into the character of cult phenomena and the historical setting of the Priestly school. Oxford 1978.
Harrelson, W., The celebration of the Feast of booths according to Zech XIV 16–21. In: J. Neusner, ed., Religions in antiquity (Studies in the History of Religions vol. 14 = Fs E.R. Goodenough). Leiden 1968, pp. 88–96.
Hentschke, R., Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus (BZAW vol. 75). Berlin 1957.
Hillers, D.R., Ritual procession of the ark and Ps 132. CBQ 30/1968, 48–55.
– *MŠKN'* "temple" in inscriptions from Hatra. BASOR 206/1972, 54–56.
Hoffmann, H.-D., Reform und Reformen. Untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung (ATANT vol. 66). Zürich 1980.
Horst, F., Gottes Recht. Gesammelte Studien zum Recht im Alten Testament (TBü vol. 12). München 1961.
Houk, C.B., The final redaction of Ezekiel 10. JBL 90/1971, 42–54.
– A statistical linguistic study of Ezekiel 1 4 – 3 11. ZAW 93/1981, 76–85.
Huffmon, H.B., Amorite personal names in the Mari texts. Baltimore 1965.
Hulst, A.R., *škn* wohnen. THAT 2/1976, 904–909.
Humbert, P., Opuscules d'un Hébraisant (Mémories de l'Université de Neuchatel vol. 26). Neuchatel 1958.
Hurvitz, A., The evidence of language in dating the Priestly Code. RB 81/1974, 24–56.
Jacob, B., Im Namen Gottes. Eine sprachliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Alten und Neuen Testament. Berlin 1903.
Jacobsen, Th., The battle between Marduk and Tiamat. JAOS 88/1968, 104–108.
Janssen, E., Juda in der Exilszeit (FRLANT vol. 69). Göttingen 1956.
Janzen, J.G., Studies in the text of Jeremiah (HSM vol. 6). Cambridge Mass. 1973.
Jenni, E., Das hebräische Pi'el. Zürich 1968.
Jepsen, A., Zur Chronologie des Priesterkodex. ZAW 47/1929, 251–255.
– Die Quellen des Königsbuches. Halle (Saale) 1953.
Jeremias, Christian, Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja (FRLANT vol. 117). Göttingen 1977.
Jeremias, Jörg, Lade und Zion. In: H.W. Wolff, ed., Probleme biblischer Theologie (Fs G. von Rad). München 1971, pp. 183–198.
– Theophanie. Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung (WMANT vol. 10). Neukirchen (1965) ²1977.
– Theophany in the OT. IDBSup pp. 896–898.
Kaiser, O., Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel (BZAW vol. 78). Berlin 1959.
– Isaiah 13–39. A commentary (OTL). Translated by R.A. Wilson. London 1974.
Kapelrud, A.S., Jahves tronstigningsfest og funnene i Ras Sjamra. NorTT 41/1940, 38–58.
– Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts. Copenhagen 1952.
– Ba'als kamp med havets fyrste i Ras Sjamra-tekstene. NorTT 61/1960, 241–251.
– The date of the Priestly Code (P). ASTI 3/1964, 58–64.
– Guden som sviktet. SEÅ 41–42/1976–77 (= Fs H. Ringgren), pp. 138–146.
– The role of the cult in old Israel. In: *idem*, God and his friends in the Old Testament. Oslo 1979, pp. 28–40. Originally published in J.P. Hyatt, ed., The Bible in modern scholarship. Nashville 1965, pp. 45–56.
– Die Theologie der Schöpfung im Alten Testament. ZAW 91/1979, 159–170.

– Creation in the Ras Shamra texts. ST 34/1980, 1–11.
Keel, O., Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4 (SBS vol. 84–85). Stuttgart 1977.
– The symbolism of the Biblical world. Ancient Near Eastern iconography and the book of Psalms. Translated by T.J. Hallett. New York 1978.
Kessler, W., Aus welchen Gründen wird die Bezeichnung "Jahwe Zebaoth" in der späteren Zeit gemieden? In: A. Lehmann, ed., Gottes ist der Orient (Fs O. Eissfeldt). Berlin 1959, pp. 79–83.
Kittel, H., Die Herrlichkeit Gottes. Studien zu Geschichte und Wesen eines neutestamentlichen Begriffs (BZNW vol. 16). Giessen 1934.
Koch, K., Die Priesterschrift. Von Exodus 25 bis Leviticus 16 (FRLANT vol. 71). Göttingen 1959.
– Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel. ZAW 67/1955, 205–226.
– *ʾohel*. TWAT I/1973, 128–141.
Köhler, L., Theologie des Alten Testaments (Neue Theologische Grundrisse). Tübingen 1936.
Kopf, L., Arabische Etymologien und Parallelen zum Bibelwörterbuch. VT 8/1958, 161–215.
Kraus, F.R., Altmesopotamisches Lebensgefühl. JNES 19/1960, 117–132.
Kraus, H.-J., Psalmen (BKAT vol. 15:1–2). Neukirchen [2]1961.
– Worship in Israel. Translated by G. Buswell. Oxford 1966.
Krebs, W., Der sitzende Gott. Gedanken zum Kultbild und seiner Verehrung. TZ 30/1974, 1–10.
Kuschke, A., Die Lagervorstellung der priesterschriftlichen Erzählung. ZAW 63/1951, 74–105.
– Tempel. In: K. Galling, ed., Biblisches Reallexikon. Tübingen [2]1977, pp. 333–342.
Lambert, W.G., The great battle of the Mesopotamian religious year. The conflict in the akītu house. Iraq 25/1963, 189–190.
– A new look at the Babylonian background of Genesis. JTS 16/1965, 285–300.
Levenson, J.D., From temple to synagogue: 1 Kings 8. In: B. Halpern – J.D. Levenson, ed., Traditions in transformation (Fs F.M. Cross). Winona Lake 1981, pp. 143–166.
Levine, B.A., On the presence of God in Biblical religion. In: J. Neusner, ed., Religions in antiquity (Studies in the History of Religions vol. 14 = Fs E.R. Goodenough). Leiden 1968, pp. 71–87.
– Priestly writers. IDBSup pp. 683–687.
Lipiński, E., La royauté de Yahwé dans la poésie et le culte de l'ancien Israel (Verhandelingen van de koninklijke vlaamse academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van Belgie. Klasse der letteren 27:55). Brussel 1965.
Löhr, M., Untersuchungen zum Buch Amos (BZAW vol. 4). Giessen 1901, pp. 38–67.
Lohfink, N., Gott im Buch Deuteronomium. In: J. Coppens ed., La notion biblique de Dieu (BETL vol. 41). Gembloux 1976, pp. 101–126.
Loretz, O., see Dietrich, M.
– Der Torso eines kanaanäisch-israelitischen Tempelweihspruches in 1 Kg 8, 12–13. UF 6/1974, 178–180.
– Die steinernen Gesetzestafeln in der Lade. UF 9/1977, 159–161.
Lutz, H.-M., Jahwe, Jerusalem und die Völker. Zur Vorgeschichte von Sach 12, 1–8 und 14, 1–5 (WMANT vol. 27). Neukirchen 1968.
Maag, V., Jahwäs Heerscharen. STU 20/1950, 27–52. Reprinted in *idem*, Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion. Gesammelte Studien zur allgemeinen und alttestamentlichen

Religionsgeschichte, ed. by H.H. Schmid and O.H. Steck. Göttingen ... 1980, pp. 1–28.
McBride, S. Dean, The Deuteronomic Name Theology. PhD thesis. Harvard 1969. Unpublished.
McCarthy, D.J., "Creation" motifs in ancient Hebrew poetry. CBQ 29/1967, 393–406.
Maier, J., Vom Kultus zur Gnosis. Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der "jüdischen Gnosis". Bundeslade, Gottesthron und Märkābāh (Kairos. Religionswissenschaftliche Studien vol. 1). Salzburg 1964.
– Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum (BZAW 93). Berlin 1965.
Malamat, A., The last kings of Judah and the fall of Jerusalem. IEJ 18/1968, 137–155.
– The twilight of Judah: In the Egyptian Babylonian maelstrom. VTSup 28/1975, 123–145.
– A Mari prophecy and Nathan's dynastic oracle. In: J.A. Emerton, ed., Prophecy (BZAW vol. 150 = Fs G. Fohrer). Berlin ... 1980, pp. 68–82.
Mann, T.W., Divine presence and guidance in Israelite traditions: the typology of exaltation (The Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies). Baltimore ... 1977.
Marböck, J., Henoch – Adam – der Thronwagen. Zu frühjüdischen pseudepigraphischen Traditionen bei *Ben Sira*. BZ 25/1981, 103–111.
Mayes, A.D.H., Deuteronomy (New Century Bible). London 1979.
Mendenhall, G.E., The tenth generation. The origins of the Biblical tradition. Baltimore ... 1973.
Merendino, R.P., Das deuteronomische Gesetz (BBB vol. 31). Bonn 1969.
Mettinger, T., King and Messiah. The civil and sacral legitimation of the Israelite kings (ConB OT Series vol. 8). Lund 1976.
– Exodus, drak-kamp och historisk beroendeforskning. Review article on S. Norin, Er spaltete das Meer (1977). SEÅ 43/1978, 87–97.
– The veto on images and the aniconic God in ancient Israel. In: H. Biezais, ed., Religious symbols and their functions (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis vol. 10). Stockholm 1979, pp. 15–29.
– YHWH Sabaoth – the heavenly king on the cherubim throne. Forthcoming in: T. Ishida and M. Sekine, ed., Studies in the period of David and Solomon and other essays (Papers read at the International Symposium of Biblical Studies, held in Tokyo in 1979).
Metzger, M., Himmlische und irdische Wohnstatt Jahwes. UF 2/1970, 139–158.
Miller, P.D., The divine warrior in early Israel (HSM vol. 5). Cambridge Mass. [2]1975.
Möhlenbrink, K., Der Tempel Salomos (Staatliche Forschungsinstitute an der Univ. Leipzig. Forschungsinstitut für Religionsgeschichte, israelitisch-jüdische Abt., Heft 7). Stuttgart 1932.
Moor, J.C. de, The seasonal pattern in the Ugaritic myth of Baʿlu (AOAT vol. 16). Kevelaer ... 1971.
– New Year with Canaanites and Israelites (Kamper Cahiers vol. 21–22). Kampen 1972.
Morgenstern, J., Biblical theophanies. ZA 25/1911, 139–193.
– The tent of meeting. JAOS 38/1918, 125–139.
– The King-God among the Western Semites and the meaning of Epiphanes. VT 10/1960, 138–197.
Mowinckel, S., Psalmenstudien II. Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwäs und der Ursprung der Eschatologie (Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter II. Hist.-filosof. Klasse 1921 no 6). Kristiania 1922.

– Le décalogue (Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses publiées par la faculté de théologie protestante de l'Université de Strasbourg vol. 16). Paris 1927.
– Wann wurde der Jahwäkultus in Jerusalem offiziell bildlos? AcOr 8/1930, 257–279.
– Offersang og sangoffer. Oslo ... 1951.
– Drive and/or ride in O.T. VT 12/1962, 278–299.

Müller, H.-P., Die kultische Darstellung der Theophanie. VT 14/1964, 183–191.

Nicholson, E.W., Deuteronomy and tradition. Oxford 1967.
– Preaching to the exiles. A study of the prose tradition in the book of Jeremiah. Oxford 1970.

Norin, S., Er spaltete das Meer. Die Auszugsüberlieferung in Psalmen und Kult des alten Israel (ConB OT Series vol. 9). Lund 1977.
– Jô-Namen und J^{e}hô-Namen. VT 29/1979, 87–97.

Noth, M., Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung (BWANT III:10). Stuttgart 1928.
– Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien. Die sammelnden und bearbeitenden Geschichtswerke im Alten Testament. [Halle (Saale) 1943] Darmstadt [3]1967.
– Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pantateuch. Stuttgart 1948.
– Gesammelte Studien [I] (TBü vol. 6). München [2]1960.
– Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament II (TBü vol. 39). Ed. by H.W.Wolff. München 1969.
– Könige (BKAT 9:1). Neukirchen 1968.

Nowack, W., Deuteronomium und Regum (BZAW 41 = Fs Marti). Giessen 1925, pp. 221–231.

Oded, B., Judah and the Exile. In: J.H. Hayes and J.M. Miller, ed., Israelite and Judaean history. London 1977, pp. 435–488.

Oppenheim, A.L., Akkadian *pul(u)ḫ(t)u* and *melammu*. JAOS 63/1943, 31–34.

Otto, E., Silo und Jerusalem. TZ 32/1976, 65–77.
– El und JHWH in Jerusalem. VT 30/1980. 316–329.

Ottosson, M., *hêḵāl*. TWAT 2/1977, 408–415.
– Temples and cult places in Palestine (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. BOREAS. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations vol. 12). Uppsala 1980.

Ouellette, J., The Solomonic *d^{e}bîr* according to the Hebrew text of I Kings 6. JBL 89/1970, 338–343.

Pallis, S.A., The Babylonian Akîtu festival (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filol. Meddelelser XII:1). København 1926.

Parunak, H. van Dyke, The literary architecture of Ezekiel's *mar'ôt 'ĕlōhîm*. JBL 99/1980, 61–74.

Perlitt, L., Bundestheologie im Alten Testament (WMANT vol. 36). Neukirchen 1969.

Pfeifer, G., Ursprung und Wesen der Hypostasenvorstellungen im Judentum (Aufsätze und Vorträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft). Berlin 1967.

Polzin, R., Late Biblical Hebrew (HSM vol. 12). Missoula 1976.

Porten, B., Archives from Elephantine. Berkeley ... 1968.

Rad, G. von, *kābôd* im AT. TWNT 2/1935, 240–245.
– Studies in Deuteronomy (SBT vol. 9). Translated by D. Stalker. London 1953.
– Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament [I] (TBü vol. 8). München [2]1961.
– Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament. Band II (TBü vol. 48). Ed. by R. Smend. München 1973.
– Theologie des Alten Testaments. Vol. 1. München [4]1962. Vol. 2. München [3]1962.

Rendtorff, R., Die Offenbarungsvorstellungen im Alten Israel. In: W. Pannenberg, ed.,

Offenbarung als Geschichte (KD Beih 1). Göttingen [2]1963, pp. 21–41.
Ridderbos, N.C., Die Theophanie in Ps. L 1–6. OTS 15/1969, 213–226.
Riesenfeld, H., Jésus transfiguré (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis vol. 16). København 1947.
Rin, S. and Sh., Ugaritic – Old Testament affinities II. BZ 11/1967, 174–192.
Ringgren, H., Word and wisdom. Studies in the hypostatization of divine qualities and functions in the ancient Near East. Lund 1947.
– Är den bibliska skapelseberättelsen en kulttext? SEÅ 13/1948, 9–21.
– Israelite religion. Translated by D. Green. London, second, corrected impr. 1969.
– The symbolism of Mesopotamian cult images. In: H. Biezais, ed., Religious symbols and their functions (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis vol. 10). Stockholm 1979, pp. 105–109.
– *jām*. TWAT 3, Lfg 6–7. Stuttgart ... 1981, cols 645–657.
– Yahvé et Rahab-Leviatan. Forthcoming in the Festschrift for H. Cazelles.
Roberts, J.J.M., The Davidic origin of the Zion tradition. JBL 92/1973, 329–344.
– Zion tradition. IDBSup pp. 985–987.
– Zion in the theology of the Davidic-Solomonic empire. Forthcoming in T. Ishida and M. Sekine, ed., Studies in the period of David and Solomon and other essays (Papers read at the International Symposium of Biblical Studies, held in Tokyo in 1979).
Rodd, C.S., On applying a sociological theory to Biblical studies. JSOT 19/1981, 95–106.
Rose, M., Der Ausschliesslichkeitsanspruch Jahwes. Deuteronomische Schultheologie und die Volksfrömmigkeit in der späten Königszeit (BWANT vol. 106). Stuttgart ... 1975.
– Bemerkungen zum historischen Fundament des Josia-Bildes in II Reg 22f. ZAW 89/1977, 50–63.
Rost, L., Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im Alten Testament (BWANT vol. 76). Stuttgart 1938.
– Das kleine Credo und andere Studien zum Alten Testament. Heidelberg 1965.
Rudolph, W., Jeremia (HAT Erste Reihe 12). Tübingen [3]1968.
– Micha – Nahum – Habakuk – Sephanja (KAT 13:3). Gütersloh 1975.
Saggs, H.W.F., The encounter with the divine in Mesopotamia and Israel (Jordan lectures 1976). London 1978.
Sanmartín, J., see Dietrich, M.
Schmid, H., Der Tempelbau Salomos in religionsgeschichtlicher Sicht. In: A. Kuschke and E. Kutsch, ed., Archäologie und Altes Testament (Fs K. Galling). Tübingen 1970, pp. 241–250.
Schmidt, H., Kerubenthron und Lade. In: H. Schmidt, ed., Eucharisterion ... H. Gunkel (FRLANT 19:1). Göttingen 1923, pp. 120–144.
– Der heilige Fels in Jerusalem. Tübingen 1933.
Schmidt, M., Prophet und Tempel. Eine Studie zum Problem der Gottesnähe im Alten Testament. Zollikon ... 1948.
Schmidt, W.H., Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel (BZAW vol. 80). Berlin 1961.
– *miškān* als Ausdruck Jerusalemer Kultsprache. ZAW 75/1963, 91–92.
– *dāḇār*. TWAT 2/1977, 89–133.
Schmitt, R., Zelt und Lade als Thema alttestamentlicher Wissenschaft. Gütersloh 1972.
– Exodus und Passah. Ihr Zusammenhang im Alten Testament (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis vol. 7). Freiburg ... 1975.
Schmuttermayr, G., Psalm 18 und 2 Samuel 22. Studien zu einem Doppeltext (SANT vol. 25). München 1971.

Schnutenhaus, F., Das Kommen und Erscheinen Gottes im Alten Testament. ZAW 76/1964, 1–21.
Scholem, G.G., Major trends in Jewish mysticism. London 1955.
Schottroff, W., 'Gedenken' im alten Orient und im Alten Testament. Die Wurzel ZĀKAR im semitischen Sprachkreis (WMANT vol. 15). Neukirchen 1964.
Schreiner, J., Sion-Jerusalem. Jahwes Königssitz (SANT vol. 7). München 1963.
Schult, H., Der Debir im salomonischen Tempel. ZDPV 80/1964, 46–54.
Seebass, H., *bāḥar*. TWAT I/1973, 592–608.
Seitz, G., Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium (BWANT vol. 93). Stuttgart ... 1971.
Seyring, F., Der alttestamentliche Sprachgebrauch inbetreff des Namens der sogen. "Bundeslade". ZAW 11/1891, 114–125.
Smend, R., Das Gesetz und die Völker. Ein Beitrag zur deuteronomistischen Redaktionsgeschichte. In: H.W. Wolff, ed., Probleme Biblisher Theologie (Fs G. von Rad). München 1971, pp. 494–509.
Soggin, J.A., Deuteronomistische Geschichtsschreibung während des babylonischen Exils. In: F. Christ, ed., Oikonomia (Fs O. Cullmann). Hamburg 1967, pp. 11–17.
– *mælæk* König. THAT I/1971, 908–920.
Sprank, S. and K. Wiese, Studien zu Ezechiel und dem Buch der Richter (BWANT vol. 40). Stuttgart 1926.
Stade, B., Geschichte des Volkes Israel. Vol. 2. Berlin 1888.
Stadelmann, R., Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten (Probleme der Ägyptologie vol. 5). Leiden 1967.
Stähli, H.-P., Creatio als creatio perpetua? Wort und Dienst 10/1969, 121–129.
Stamm, J.J., Zum Altargesetz im Bundesbuch. TZ 1/1945, 304–306.
– Hebräische Ersatznamen. Assyriological Studies 16 (= Fs B. Landsberger). Chicago 1965, pp. 413–424.
Steck, O.H., Friedensvorstellungen im alten Jerusalem (Theologische Studien vol. 111). Zürich 1972.
Stein, B., Der Begriff Kᵉbod Jahweh und seine Bedeutung für die alttestamentliche Gotteserkenntnis. Emsdetten 1939.
Steuernagel, C., Jahwe, der Gott Israels. Eine stil- und religionsgeschichtliche Studie. In: K. Marti, ed., Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte (BZAW vol. 27 = Fs J. Wellhausen). Giessen 1914, pp. 329–349.
Stolz, F., Strukturen und Figuren im Kult von Jerusalem (BZAW vol. 118). Berlin 1970.
– Sabbat, Schöpfungswoche und Herbstfest. Wort und Dienst 11/1971, 159–175.
Sturdy, J.V.M., The authorship of the "prose sermons" of Jeremiah. In: J.A. Emerton, ed., Prophecy (BZAW vol. 150 = Fs G. Fohrer). Berlin ... 1980, pp. 143–150.
Talmon, Sh., The "navel of the earth" and the comparative method. In: A.L. Merrill and T.W. Overholt, ed., Scripture in history and theology (Fs J. Coert Rylarsdam). Pittsburgh 1977, pp. 243–268.
– *har*. TWAT 2/1977, 459–483.
– The "comparative method" in Biblical interpretation – principles and problems. VTSup 39/1978, 320–356.
Terrien, S., The elusive Presence. Toward a new Biblical theology (Religious Perspectives vol. 26). New York ... 1978.
Theisohn, J., Der auserwählte Richter. Untersuchungen zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Ort der Menschensohngestalt der Bilderreden des äthiopischen Henoch (SUNT vol. 12). Göttingen 1975.

Thiel, W., Die deuteronomistische Redaktion von Jeremia 1–25 (WMANT vol. 41). Neukirchen 1973.

Thompson, J.A., The book of Jeremiah (A New International Commentary on the Old Testament). Grand Rapids 1980.

Torczyner, H., Die Bundeslade und die Anfänge der Religion Israels. Berlin 1922.

Tournay, R., Chronologie des Psaumes. RB 65/1958, 321–357.

Tov, E., L'incidence de la critique textuelle sur la critique littéraire dans le livre de Jérémie. RB 79/1972, 189–199.

Tsevat, M., A study of the language of the Biblical Psalms (JBL Monograph Series vol. 9). Philadelphia 1955.

– Alalakhiana. HUCA 29/1958, 109–134.

Ulrichsen, J.H., *JHWH mālāk*: einige sprachliche Beobachtungen. VT 27/1977, 361–374.

Ulshoefer, H.K., Nathan's opposition to David's intention to build a temple in the light of selected ancient Near Eastern texts. Diss. Boston Univ. Graduate School, 1977. Not seen. Known to me from Elenchus 58–59/1977–78, p. 265.

van Dyke Parunak, H., See Parunak.

Vaux, R. de, Ancient Israel. Its life and institutions. Translated by J. McHugh. London 1965.

– Bible et Orient. Paris 1967.

– "Le lieu que Yahvé a choisi pour y établir son nom". In: F. Maass, ed., Das ferne und nahe Wort (BZAW vol. 105 = Fs L. Rost). Berlin 1967, pp. 219–228.

Veijola, T., Die ewige Dynastie. David und die Entstehung seiner Dynastie nach der deuteronomistischen Darstellung (Ann. acad. scient. fennicae ser. B vol. 193). Helsinki 1975.

– Das Königtum in der Beurteilung der deuteronomistischen Historiographie. Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung (Ann. acad. scient. fennicae ser. B vol. 198). Helsinki 1977.

Vincent, A., La réligion des judéo-araméens d'Élephantine. Paris 1937.

Vogt, E., Vom Tempel zur Felsendom. Bib 55/1974, 23–64.

Volkwein, B., Masoretisches *ʿēdūt, ʿēdwōt, ʿēdōt* – "Zeugnis" oder "Bundesbestimmungen"? BZ 13/1969, 18–40.

Vosberg, L., Studien zum Reden vom Schöpfer in den Psalmen (BevT vol. 69). München 1975.

Walkenhorst, K.-H., Der Sinai im liturgischen Verständnis der deuteronomistischen und der priesterlichen Tradition (BBB vol. 33). Bonn 1969.

Wanke, G., Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten (BZAW vol. 97). Berlin 1966.

Weinfeld, M., Presence, divine. EncJud vol. 13. Jerusalem 1971, cols 1015–1020.

– Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic school. Oxford 1972.

– The worship of Molech and of the Queen of heaven. Uf 4/1972, 133–154.

– Jeremiah and the spiritual metamorphosis of Israel. ZAW 88/1976, 17–56.

Weippert, H., Die "deuteronomistischen" Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion der Königsbücher. Bib 53/1972, 301–339.

– Die Prosareden des Jeremiabuches (BZAW vol. 132). Berlin 1973.

– "Der Ort, den Jahwe erwählen wird, um dort seinen Namen wohnen zu lassen". Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Formel. BZ 24/1980, 76–94.

Weippert, M., Kalender und Zeitrechnung. In: K. Galling, ed., Biblisches Reallexikon. Tübingen [2]1977, pp. 165–168.

Weiser, A., Glaube und Geschichte im Alten Testament (BWANT vol. 55). Stuttgart 1931.

– Die Frage nach den Beziehungen der Psalmen zum Kult: Die Darstellung der Theophanie in den Psalmen und im Festkult. In: Festschrift A. Bertholet. Tübingen 1950, pp. 513–531.
– Die Tempelbaukrise unter David. ZAW 77/1965, 153–168.
Wellhausen, J., Prolegomena to the history of ancient Israel. Translated from the German original (Berlin 1883) by J.S. Black and A. Menzies (1885). Cleveland 1961.
– Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments. Berlin [2]1889.
Wenham, G.J., Deuteronomy and the central sanctuary. Tyndale Bulletin 22/1971, 103–118.
Westermann, C., Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen. Berlin 1953.
– Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift. In: H.J. Stoebe et. al. ed., Wort – Gebot – Glaube (Fs W. Eichrodt). Zürich 1970, pp. 227–249.
– *kbd* schwer sein. THAT 1/1971, 794–812.
Westphal, G., Jahwes Wohnstätten (BZAW vol. 15). Giessen 1908.
Whitaker, R.E., A concordance of the Ugaritic literature. Cambridge Mass. 1972.
Wiklander, B., Material för diskussionen om tolkningen av *JHWH ṣᵉbaʾot*. Report to the Swedish Bible Commission. Unpublished s.a.
Wildberger, H., Jesaja (BKAT 10:1–). Neukirchen 1972 –.
– Jahwe und sein Volk. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament. (TBü vol. 66). Ed. by H.H. Schmid and O.H. Steck. München 1979.
Woude, A.S. van der, *ṣābāʾ* Heer. THAT 2/1976, 498–507.
– *šēm* Name. THAT 2/1976, 935–963.
– Gibt es eine Theologie des Jahwe-Namens im Deuteronomium? In: Übersetzung und Deutung (Fs A.R. Hulst). Nijkerk 1977, pp. 204 – 210.
Wright, G.E., The temple in Palestine-Syria. [BA 7/1944, 65–77] BAR vol. 1. New York 1961, pp. 169–184.
– Cult and history. Int 16/1962, 3–20.
Würthwein, E., Die josianische Reform und das Deuteronomium. ZTK 73/1976, 395–423.
– Das Erste Buch der Könige. Kapitel 1 – 16 (ATD 11:1). Göttingen 1977.
York, A.D., Ezekiel I: inaugural and restoration visions? VT 27/1977, 82–98.
Zimmerli, W., Ezechiel (BKAT 13:1–2). Neukirchen 1969.
– Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament (TBü vol. 19). München [2]1969.
– Old Testament theology in outline. Translated by D.E. Green. Edinburgh 1978.
Zobel, H.-J., *ʾᵃrôn*. TWAT 1/1973, 391–404.
Zyl, A.H. van, The meaning of the name Samuel. In: A.H. van Zyl, ed., Biblical essays. Proceedings of the twelfth meeting of "Die ou-testamentiese werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika". Potchefstroom 1969, pp. 122–129.

Illustrations

Indexes

1. Biblical and Jewish Sources

(N.B. The biblical index is selective.)

2. Anicent Near Eastern Sources

3. Oriental Words

4. General Index

5. Author Index



CONIECTANEA BIBLICA. OLD TESTAMENT SERIES

1. *Albrektson, B.:* History and the Gods. 1967.
2. *Johnson, B.:* Die armenische Bibelübersetzung als hexaplarischer Zeuge im 1. Samuelbuch. 1968.
3. *Ottosson, M.:* Gilead. Tradition and History. 1969.
4. *Erlandsson, S.:* The Burden of Babylon. A Study of Isaiah 13:2–14:23. 1970.
5. *Mettinger, T.:* Solomonic State Officials. A study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy. 1971. Out of print.
6. *Hidal, S.:* Interpretatio syriaca. Die Kommentare des heiligen Ephräm des Syrers zu Genesis und Exodus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer auslegungsgeschichtlichen Stellung. 1974.
7. *Tengström, S.:* Die Hexateucherzählung. Eine literaturgeschichtliche Studie. 1976.
8. *Mettinger, T.:* King and Messiah. The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings. 1976.
9. *Norin, S.:* Er spaltete das Meer. 1977.
10. *Hyvärinen, K.:* Die Übersetzung von Aquila. 1977.
11. *Kronholm, T.:* Motifs from Genesis 1–11 in the Genuine Hymns of Ephrem the Syrian. 1978.
12. *Ljung, I.:* Tradition and Interpretation. A Study of the Use and Application of Formulaic Language in the so-called Ebed YHWH-psalms. 1978.
13. *Johnson, B.:* Hebräisches Perfekt und Imperfekt mit vorangehendem w^e. 1979.
14. *Steingrimsson, S.:* Vom Zeichen zur Geschichte. Eine literar- und formkritische Untersuchung von Ex 6,28–11,10. 1979.
15. *Kalugila, L.:* The Wise King. Studies in Royal Wisdom as Divine Revelation in the Old Testament and Its Environment. 1980.
16. *André, G.:* Determining the Destiny. PQD in the Old Testament. 1980.
17. *Tengström, S.:* Die Toledotformel und die literarische Struktur der priesterlichen Erweiterungsschicht im Pentateuch. 1982.
18. *Mettinger, T.,:* The Dethronement of Sabaoth. Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies. 1982.



THE DETHRONEMENT OF SABAOTH,
by Tryggve N.D. Mettinger

How are we to account for the fact that the predication of God as YHWH Sabaoth is so strikingly rare in or even absent from certain blocks of the Old Testament literature? As he has done before, Tryggve Mettinger takes an intriguing problem as his point of departure. His search for an explanation entails a thorough analysis of an issue that stands at the forefront of current scholarly debate, namely the problem of the divine presence.

Using the notion of cognitive dissonance as a heuristic device, Mettinger reveals an absorbing triangle-drama between YHWH Sabaoth, Shem (the divine Name), and Kabod (the divine Glory). He locates the Shem and Kabod theologies in a situation when the classical understandings of the divine presence on Zion were confronted with the brutal facts of national disaster. The differences between the Sabaoth theology and its heirs are illuminated by means of iconographic analysis.

Among topics treated in the book, the following may be mentioned:

- The idea of God as King
- The iconography of Solomon's temple
- The theological consequences of the exilic catastrophe
- The theophanic tradition and the idea of the throne-chariot.

A separate study is devoted to the development of the cult in the late pre-exilic period, when, in Mettinger's view, emphasis was transferred *from* the Autumn Festival and the mythopoetic motif of the chaos battle *to* the Passover meal, which commemorated the Exodus event and the *Heilsgeschichte*.

The author, Tryggve N.D. Mettinger, was born in 1940. He has held the Old Testament chair at the University of Lund since 1978. His previous publications include *Solomonic State Officials* (Lund, 1971, out of print), *King and Messiah* (Lund, 1976), and a number of papers on linguistic and traditio-historical problems.



ISBN 91-40-04804-7

